

## Kremlin may name new leader today

MOSCOW (AP). — The Communist Party Central Committee is expected to convene a plenum today that could name a new party chief to succeed Yuri Andropov.

Attention still focused on Konstantin Chernenko, the Politburo member who has played the most visible role during the period of mourning, as well as on some of the younger members of the ruling body.

These included Grigori Romanov, the 61-year-old head of the party disciplinary body, and Mikhail Gorbachev, a 52-year-old

technocrat whose power is said to have increased significantly under Andropov.

There was no announcement by late last night of who the new general secretary would be, and the late evening news programme on Soviet television did not mention when the plenum would be held.

But Andropov is to be buried tomorrow, with dozens of foreign heads of state and government leaders in attendance. In the light of usual practice in the Soviet Union, it seemed unlikely that the party

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Shamir hopes for new Soviet policy

Commenting on the death of Yuri Andropov, Premier Yitzhak Shamir said yesterday he hoped for a revision of Soviet Middle East policy under the new leadership. He urged the Kremlin to "conclude that they should have a free and direct dialogue with the State of Israel."

Shamir said Israel's hope was also that the Soviets would conclude that they "should cease their massive support for Israel's most extreme enemies, and recognize the right of Soviet Jews to return to their homeland and be reunited with their people in Eretz Yisrael."

## Iraq, Iran shelling each other's towns

BAGHDAD (AP). — Iran shelled seven Iraqi cities and towns yesterday, killing 14 persons and injuring 89 others, and Iraq retaliated by attacking four Iranian areas, it was officially announced here.

The Iraqi armed forces attacked the Iranian port of Bandar Khomeini and the petrochemical complex in the city, as well as "specific targets" in the cities of Abadan, Guilan Gharb and Sarepol-Zahab, according to a communique released by the general command of the Iraqi armed forces.

The Iraqi attacks, the communique said, were in retaliation for Iranian artillery shelling earlier in the day of the Iraqi border cities and towns of Basra, Mandali, Khanaqin, Chehab, Zorbatya, Khormal and Sayeb Sadeq.

The Iranian shelling of Basra, according to the Iraqi communique,

killed 13 "civilians and injured 85 others including women, children and old people, in addition to destroying 13 houses and four shops and inflicting damage to the city's hospital and 11 civilian cars."

The southern Iraqi provincial capital of Basra, 20 km. west of the front line with Iran, has an estimated population of 500,000 persons.

The Iranian news agency IRNA, monitored in London, reported tonight that Iranian forces had overrun 110 square kilometres of Iraqi territory in an offensive in the mountainous area of Darbandi-Khan on the northern war front.

It said that 78 Iraqis were killed and a number captured in one engagement in the operation, and that a considerable amount of arms and ammunition had been seized. An Iraqi counter-attack was crushed, it added.



Drawings of peacocks and an armoured warrior found in the Second Century C.E. structure uncovered in Judea. (Department of Antiquities)

## Ancient tower found in Judea

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
The remains of an impressive fortified structure from the Second Century C.E. that may have belonged to a Jerusalem family have been uncovered near Nahal Eshatama in Judea.

Drawings of peacocks, an armoured warrior and other figures were found incised in the walls of one of the rooms.

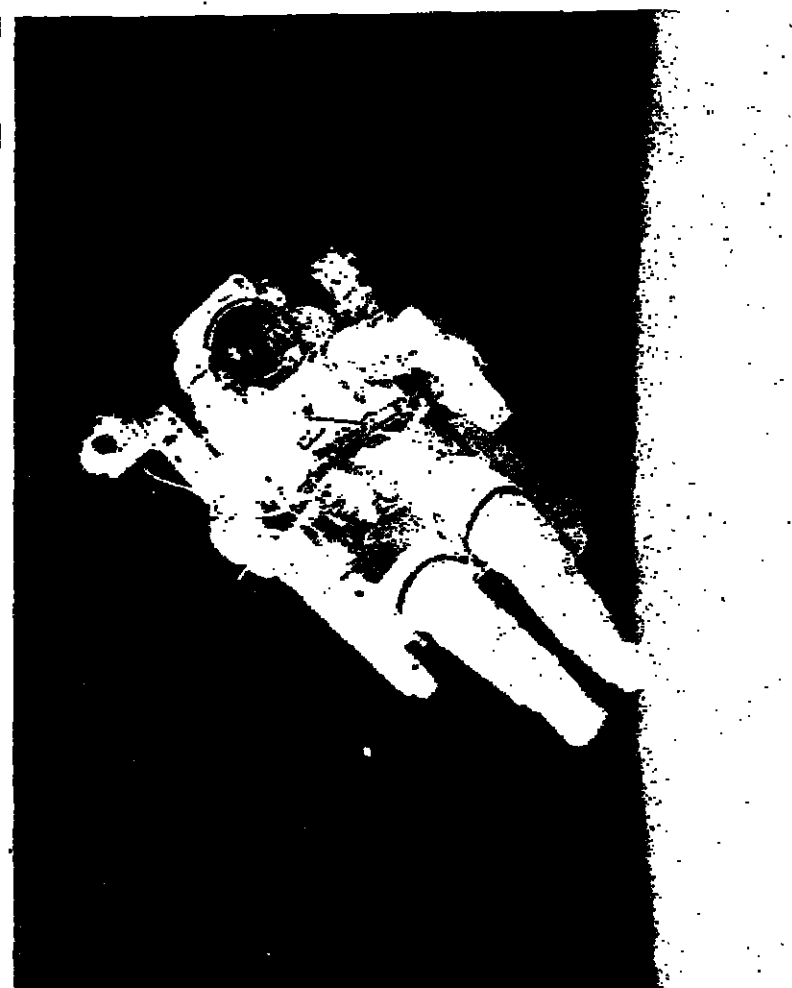
Archaeologist David Alon of the Antiquities Department, who uncovered the tower, surmises that it was built by a Jerusalem family because the two mikva'ot (ritual

baths) in the structure were built in the style prevalent in Jerusalem at the time.

Standing six metres high, the remains include a courtyard surrounded by a two-storey residential complex with many rooms, and an elaborate staircase leading to an observation tower.

Some 60 silver coins from the time of the Roman Emperor Vespasian to the time of Emperor Hadrian were found in one of the rooms.

The structure, located at Tsalit, is part of a large settlement, reports Alon.



U.S. Astronaut Bruce McCandless, equipped with a manned maneuvering unit, became the first man to fly freely in space last week, moving a distance of some 100 metres from the Challenger space shuttle. (UPI telephoto)

## Levy slams Orgad's economic policy

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Deputy Prime Minister David Levy yesterday slammed the Treasury's economic policy and said he doubted whether he could defend an economic programme he did not believe in.

"It seems that our approach is based on cuts, price hikes, levies and wage erosion. There is no overall social and economic policy," Levy said at yesterday's weekly cabinet meeting.

Levy criticized the Finance Ministry for increasing the prices of subsidized goods and proposed that the hikes in electricity prices be moderated.

The cabinet decided to hold a debate next week on the Treasury's economic policy, particularly with respect to increases in prices of subsidized goods.

Levy's proposal on slowing down the pace of electricity price increases was passed on to the Ministerial Economic Committee which decided that Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad and Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i should meet today to discuss the increase for February.

According to government sources, the electricity price increase in February will be 14 per cent, rather than 18 per cent as requested by the Energy Ministry.

The committee yesterday considered grading the price increases to benefit domestic consumers.

Treasury sources said last night that the cabinet decision had left the power to decide about price increases in the hands of Cohen-Orgad and Moda'i, contrary to Levy's proposal for a special com-

mittee on the subject. The sources added that the cabinet also decided to maintain the current policy of hikes in subsidized prices above the average rate of inflation.

But government sources said that Cohen-Orgad was forced at the meeting to accept a debate on his policies before he tables his budget proposal at the Knesset. The demand for this debate was raised by Levy, Labour Minister Aharon Uzan and Tourism Minister Avraham Shafir.

Levy said during the cabinet meeting that the Treasury cannot execute its policy in isolation from social considerations. Levy said that in development towns and poor quarters there is a feeling that the government has no social sensitivity. "In the name of economic logic we pursue a policy which causes pain for large sections of the population," he said.

Shafir demanded that the government discuss economic policy since no debate on ways to increase production had taken place in the recent months. "If we don't bake a bigger cake we will be fighting for crumbs," he added.

Cohen-Orgad and Moda'i defended their price increases and argued that it was the previous policy of slow hikes that had brought the need for the rapid increases in electricity prices.

Moda'i denied recent reports about many families being left without electricity because they couldn't pay the bills. He said that keeping the policy of low prices increases would have led to waste and unnecessary increases in energy consumption.

## Hungarian business representatives here

A group of representatives of Hungarian state business enterprises are at present in Jerusalem negotiating various deals, it is learned. The talks are with private commercial enterprises, not

with governmental authorities, it is understood.

Trade between Israel and Hungary is not conducted at an official level because of the absence of diplomatic relations.

## Hussein, Mubarak to meet with Reagan

WASHINGTON (Reuters). — Two of America's closest Arab allies, King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, are to meet with President Ronald Reagan this week about the crisis in

Lebanon and other regional problems.

Reagan is to see Hussein today and Mubarak tomorrow and they are to have lunch together tomorrow.

## Farmers plan to cry 'fowl' in Jerusalem today

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
Free chickens will be available to interested Jerusalem citizens from 11 a.m. today, if beef and poultry farmers carry out their threat.

The angry farmers have said they will release thousands of live chickens outside the Ministry of Trade (the former Palace Hotel) at the bottom of Rehov Agron, as a protest against the ministry's policy of allowing imports of cheap beef. They say that the "liberal" policy of the ministry has ruined their livelihood.

According to the farmers, the ministry recently allowed the Israel Salt Company (Atilit) to import kosher chickens from the U.S. for Pesach. Atilit went ahead with these imports on hearing that the Poultry Production and Marketing Board sold frozen chickens to Rumania in return for salt.

## Premier on Reagan-Mubarak-Hussein summit: Shamir: Can't discuss peace without Israel

Jerusalem Post Staff

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir voiced displeasure last night at the scheduled meeting tomorrow in Washington between President Reagan, President Mubarak of Egypt and King Hussein of Jordan.

Addressing a group of young Herut activists from Israel and abroad in Jerusalem, the prime minister noted that the three-way summit had been billed as a discussion on "Peace in the Middle East."

"I want to say," Shamir declared, "that no discussion on peace in the Middle East can be complete and meaningful without the participation of Israel and without taking account of Israel's views and aspirations for peace and security."

Shamir added that Israel "stands ready now as always" to resume the negotiations "on the basis of the only realistic plan — Camp David." He noted pointedly that two of the three states whose representatives would be meeting in Washington tomorrow were committed to Camp David.

Shamir's remarks, delivered in a tone tinged with indignant sarcasm, ("They tell us there will be a meeting on Tuesday...") seemed to reflect the chagrin that is clearly felt

beneath the surface in Jerusalem over Washington's latest moves in Lebanon, moves taken with only the barest semblance of prior consultation with Israel.

He warned again that Israel would take a very grim view of Lebanon's reneging on the agreement of May 1983. "We shall consider ourselves free of the obligations we undertook in that agreement and we may have to deal with the security arrangements in South Lebanon in a unilateral manner. In any case, we shall ensure the security of Israel's north — with the agreement or without it."

In Jerusalem's view, Israeli troops will remain in Lebanon indefinitely, because of the weakness of the regime of President Amin Jemayel, but the scale of the involvement is not clear.

Official Washington has not made known its views about the possibility that Jemayel might abrogate the May 1983 agreement with Israel.

Nevertheless, the awareness in Jerusalem that some administration officials do not take the Israel-Lebanon agreement very seriously, and that all the Washington policymakers would shrink from a major confrontation with Damascus over

the future of the agreement, is causing concern here.

Officials in Jerusalem are busily casting about for persuasive information arguments to prove what damage would be caused to Western, American and Israeli interests, if Washington let the agreement expire by default if not by design.

The officials are warning that abrogation of the agreement would signal to all and sundry that Syria is calling the shots in the Arab world. Hence no moderate Arab state, they say, would dare in future to sign any agreements with Israel.

Aware how keen the U.S. is to get Hussein into the peace process, officials stress that Jordan's fear of Syria would deter it from entering the peace process if Lebanon now abrogated the agreement under Syrian pressure.

One Likud cabinet minister, asked about the possible effect on Jordan, said that even more important is the effect on the Israeli public's attitude to an agreement with Jordan.

But this minister stressed that the Likud did not envisage any agreement with Jordan based on territorial compromise.

The cabinet convened yesterday (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Syria: We won't tolerate indefinite U.S. bombardment

BEIRUT. — Syria warned yesterday that it would not tolerate indefinitely U.S. naval bombardment in Lebanon, while Saudi Arabia renewed mediation efforts to end the latest round in Lebanon's civil war.

State Minister for Foreign Affairs Farouk A-Shar'a sounded Syria's warning at a news conference in Damascus as Saudi mediator Rafik Hariri held fresh talks with Lebanon's warring factions in Beirut.

Meanwhile, police said one Lebanese soldier was killed and nine civilians were wounded in scattered exchanges of gunfire and mortars between government troops and Muslim militiamen across the "green line" that splits Beirut into Muslim and Christian halves. This was the lowest single day casualty toll in 11 days.

The state radio said U.S. Navy jets staged several reconnaissance runs over Beirut and the hills overlooking the U.S. Marine base at Beirut's closed airport, drawing no ground fire from Syrian-backed Druse insurgents.

"Syria has been exercising self-restraint toward shelling attacks by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, particularly the (battleship) New Jersey," A-Shar'a said. "This cannot go on forever, and our self-restraint has limits."

He said U.S. Ambassador in Damascus Robert Paganelli heard "very strong words" from Syrian President Hafez Assad in a meeting last week about the New Jersey bombardment of targets in Syrian-controlled central Lebanon.

A-Shar'a renewed Syria's demand for a total withdrawal of the multinational force (MNF) from Lebanon, saying "under no circum-

stances would Syria accept any of the MNF contingents remaining."

On Lebanon, Shar'a said the troop withdrawal accord signed by the Lebanese government and Israel last May must go because it is a major obstacle in the way of national reconciliation in Lebanon.

Meanwhile, a convoy of food, flour, and medical supplies crossed from Christian east Beirut to the city's Muslim sector under French protection, heralding a possible quieting of Lebanese tensions.

The entry of the food and medical supplies was the first fruit of Hariri's renewed mediation. He flew here from Riyadh on Saturday and has since been holding talks with President Amin Jemayel and all warring groups. (Shi'ite leader — page 4) (AP, Reuters)

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COLOGNE	2	6	7	Clear
FRANKFURT	2	6	7	Clear
GENEVA	2	6	7	Clear
HELSINKI	3	7	3	Cloudy
HONG KONG	14	17	19	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	17	21	25	Clear
LONDON	5	11	8	Cloudy
MADRID	3	7	15	Clear
MONTREAL	12	18	22	Cloudy
NEW YORK	6	13	12	Cloudy
OSLO	2	8	4	Cloudy
PARIS	4	9	9	Clear
PRAGUE	2	6	8	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	20	26	30	Clear
STOCKHOLM	2	8	3	Cloudy
TOKYO	9	12	15	Cloudy
VIENNA	1	3	4	Cloudy
ZURICH	0	3	5	Clear

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy with rain possible in the north

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Max
Jerusalem	57	8-13	13
Golan	63	6-12	10
Nahariya	63	6-11	11
Safed	54	13-17	17
Tiberias	71	10-19	17
Nazareth	49	9-15	14
Arifa	54	8-15	16
Sharon	54	9-15	14
Tel Aviv	58	11-18	17
B-G Airport	58	10-18	17
Jericho	49	11-22	21
Gaza	63	10-18	17
Beersheba	46	7-18	18
Eilat	31	15-24	24

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

More than IS300,000 was raised at the official opening of the WIZO Ramat Gan fund-raising campaign, held Saturday night at the home of Ya'acov and Nili Shachar. Among the guests were Ramat Gan Mayor Uri Amit, World WIZO President Raya Jaglom and MK Ehud Olmert.

## ARRIVALS

Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, president of the Jewish National Fund of America, to participate in the Presidents Conference Mission and Jewish Agency budget meetings.  
Dr. Samuel Cohen, executive vice-president of the Jewish National Fund of America, to participate in the Presidents Conference Mission and for consultations with Keren Hayesetel.  
Paul Zuckerman, to attend meetings of the Jewish Agency Board of Governors.  
Rabbi Wolf Korman, executive director of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, and Rabbi Arnold Goodman, president of the Rabbinical Assembly, for the Presidents Conference Mission and consultations with the Mosad Movement and the Rabbinical Assembly of Israel.  
Drs. Burton Cohen, Gil Graff, Rabbi Eli Havi, Jerome Abrams, Albert Thaler, David Soloff, and Glenn Karinsky, for the Conference of Camp Ramah directors.

## DEPARTURES

Rabbi MKs Meir Vilner and Tawfik Toubi for Moscow, to attend the funeral of Yuri Andropov.

## Machinegun fired at chasing police car

**ASHKELON.** — A police car came under machinegun fire last night during a chase in the Lachish district. An explosive charge was also thrown at the police car. No one was hurt.  
The chase began about 8 p.m. when a Lachish district patrolman chased a car that aroused his suspicions. After the attack, reinforcements were called, and at about 9 p.m. the car was found abandoned in an orchard near moshav Hodia.  
The police discovered the car had been stolen last week in Tel Aviv. (Lim)

## David Morgenstern dies after long illness

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
David Morgenstern, a direct descendant of Menahem Mendel Morgenstern, the rabbi of Kotsk, died yesterday after a long illness. He was 81.

Though a scholar in his own right, Morgenstern devoted his energies to other fields. He became a noted industrialist in the U.S., having moved there from his native Poland at the start of World War II.  
He was also active in Jewish culture and education, and served as president of Herzliya Hebrew Teachers Institute.  
Morgenstern, who moved to Israel in 1964, is survived by his wife Tony, who is president of the Voluntary Tourist Service, and son Joseph. The Jerusalem Post's finance reporter.  
Morgenstern will be buried on the Mount of Olives this afternoon.

## Welcome to Israel

The Cast and Crew of "Drifting Cities"

an international film and TV series, now on location in Israel:  
Marina Vlady, Paris, France, and Greece  
Jimmy Shuman, Boston, Mass., and Paris  
Allen Wanger, New York and Paris  
Julianne Samarin, Switzerland  
Georges Zarbas, Athens  
Peter Semler, Paris  
Robert Mantoulis, Athens and Paris  
From the Capt. Yehiel and Ruth Glowsky Lager Hospitality Foundation, One Mapu St., Jerusalem.

# HOME NEWS

Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi at Judea police district meeting:

## Areas crime solving record as good as average

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi, Southern District police commander, yesterday dismissed the Karp Report, which condemned law enforcement in the West Bank when it came to complaints from Arabs about offences allegedly committed by Jews.

Caspi told the annual meeting of the Judea police district command at Har Gilo that from the figures quoted in the report, it emerges that some 21 per cent of the actual complaints dealt with by the police reached the district prosecutor's office. This compared reasonably with the national average in Israel itself where 23 per cent of the files opened by the police were transferred to the prosecution, he said.

The so-called Karp Report, named after the chairman of a government-appointed inquiry, deputy attorney-general Yehudit Karp, was published last week after a delay of nearly two years. Its scathing criticism of law enforcement in the administered territories

renewed the bitter debate over the nature of settlement in the territories and the alleged behaviour of some of the settlers themselves.

Caspi ignored the fact that the committee included a representative of the police in addition to the Jerusalem district attorney and the legal adviser to the Judea and Samaria military government.

He said that in 1982, 34 complaints against Jews by Arabs were registered (16 in Hebron and 11 in Ramallah) and in 12 instances the alleged offenders were traced, which is higher than the average rate in Israel. In 1983 there were 32 such complaints and 53 per cent of the alleged offenders were traced.

Referring to the number of offences involving damage to property as an indicator of the intensity of the conflict in the area, Caspi noted that 1983 had seen a decline in disturbances since most of these offences involved rock-throwing attacks on Israeli vehicles. Sgan Nitzav David Cohen, the

Judea district commander, said that the police wanted to establish police stations at Ma'ale Adumim and at Efrat in the Etzion Bloc in view of the increase in Jewish settlers there. He noted that there had been an increase in crime in these areas, but said that without resources the police would not be able to provide anything near adequate service.

He noted that the current size and allocation of resources for the police had been determined in 1967. "Since then the local population has doubled, the standard of living has increased dramatically, (reflected for instance in the number of cars which was almost 1,000 in 1967 and is now 20,000) and 62 Jewish settlements have been established with some 15,000 residents."

He acknowledged that the police were not all that successful in tracing offences involving damage to property by Arabs against Jews but noted that the average in his district (30 per cent) was still higher than in the rest of the country (24 per cent). The most dramatic achievement

of the district over the past year was a 28 per cent drop in the number of road accidents, he said.

Meanwhile, the settlers, the "target" of the Karp report and the focus of some oblique criticism in yesterday's police debate intend submitting their own response to the Knesset-State Control Committee.

In a report they have prepared, they say they reply to each of the charges and examples mentioned in the report and that the entire report is unreliable and false because much of it is based on the testimony of the former Judea district police commander, Sgan Nitzav Ezra Kalig. The settlers allege that Kalig, now retired, was prejudiced against them and was unreliable.

The settlers are demanding the resignation of Karp and said that the one problem the report did isolate — the existence of separate and parallel systems of law in the area — supported their demand for the extension of Israeli sovereignty and law to the territory.

## Employers will check Histadrut claims of pay erosion

**By JOSHUA BRILLIANT**

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

**TEL AVIV.** — The private employers yesterday agreed to form a subcommittee to examine the Histadrut claim that workers' pay has been eroded in the past few months. This was seen in the Histadrut as a step towards meeting the trade unions' demands for erosion compensation.

The demand for erosion compensation was made yesterday by Trade Union Department deputy chairman Haim Haberfeld, who in-

sisted on some payment to help workers over the next two months until the next wage agreement comes into force.

The Histadrut said that by the time the new wage agreement goes into effect, erosion will have totalled some 5 to 6 per cent.

But a spokesman for the Coordinating Bureau of Economic Organizations later said the agreement to form a subcommittee did not necessarily mean the employers will pay up. "If we find there is erosion, we will discuss what to do about it," he said.

The erosion subcommittee will meet at the same time as another team considering a new cost of living allowance system.

The two committees, together made up of 10 to 12 employers and Histadrut officials, are due to begin work later this week.

Agreement on these committees was reached at a three-hour meeting at Histadrut headquarters here yesterday afternoon between a large Histadrut team headed by Haberfeld and the employers' delegation, led by chief negotiator

Uzi Netanel.

At the meeting, the employers criticized the Metal, Wood and Food Workers Unions for announcing labour disputes. The formal declarations, which ought to be filed with the chief labour relations officer, had not reached the employers. Nevertheless the coordinating bureau representatives said the unions were misbehaving.

The Histadrut representatives countered that even a formal declaration of a labour dispute does not mean workers will necessarily introduce sanctions.

## Three Hebronites get 5-12 years jail

**RAMALLAH (Itim).** — Three Hebron residents yesterday were sentenced at the local military court to jail terms of five to 12 years for throwing home-made explosive devices at IDF positions in Hebron in the period from July to September last year.

The ring-leader drew a 12-year sentence, another found guilty of two offences got eight years, and the third was given five years.

The offences included throwing explosive devices at IDF positions at the Hadassah and Romano buildings in Hebron. They also threw devices at an Israeli vehicle and at an Arab policeman.

The military court judge said that the three were aiming to "kill Jews merely because they were Jews and the fact that no one was killed was lucky."

## Paraguay opposition supports Klarsfeld

**ASUNCION (AFP).** — Paraguay opposition parties have expressed support for anti-Nazi campaigner Beate Klarsfeld in her demand that the government expel Nazi war criminal Dr. Josef Mengele.

Klarsfeld, who arrived here from Chile, has accused the administration of General Alfredo Stroessner of shielding Mengele. She said there

is firm evidence of Mengele's presence in Paraguay.

Klarsfeld intends to stay about a week in the country and to organize a petition demanding Mengele's expulsion. Mengele was the chief doctor at the Auschwitz concentration camp and was involved in experimental medicine using humans as guinea pigs.

## Avrushmi employer fined for having gun

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
The Ofra man for whom Yona Avrushmi worked when he allegedly threw the hand grenade that killed Emil Grunzweig last February was fined IS18,000 for illegal possession of a handgun.

Nissim Erez was fined last Friday after a short trial showed that after he discovered that Avrushmi owned a gun, he took it from him. Instead, however, of reporting that Avrushmi, who is an ex-convict, owned a pistol, Erez hid it for a year.

Avrushmi is due to appear in Jerusalem District Court today on murder charges.

## Kinneret research lab named after Yigal Allon

**TIBERIAS.** — The Kinneret Research Laboratory near here was named after the late former foreign minister Yigal Allon at a ceremony yesterday. A science library on the site, named after Allon, also was inaugurated.

The speakers at the ceremony made a plea to keep the Kinneret clean. "The State of Israel must preserve the Kinneret as one preserves one's home," said Energy Ministry director-general Uriel Linn.

The laboratory advises Mekorot (the national water company), the director of the Kinneret, and the water commission on maintaining the lake. (Itim)



Mapam MK Victor Shemtov yesterday addresses the weekly anti-Lebanon war protest by Hashomer Hatzair kibbutzim at the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. Two of the placards read: "IDF soldiers are not pawns" and "A foreign war; in a foreign country; for alien aims!" (Rahamim Israeli)

## Boy run over by bus

**NETANYA (Itim).** — A six-year-old boy was run over yesterday by the bus that was taking him and his classmates to school.

Yitzhak Hochman, a first grader at Horev Elementary School, was apparently late and running to catch the moving bus, when he slipped under the rear wheel, which ran over his leg.

The boy was rushed to Laniado Hospital, where it was reported he will need extensive treatment.

## 'Al Hamishmar' gets new look and editor

**TEL AVIV.** — The Mapam daily *Al Hamishmar* is to come out today in a new format, with a new editor. The paper, first published during World War II, will have 20 to 24 pages and will appear in tabloid format.

The editor is Sever Plotzker, formerly the paper's economic editor. Plotzker, a native of Poland, joined the paper 15 years ago as a film reviewer.

## Bank of Israel official quits

Mordechai Frenkel has resigned his position as director of the Bank of Israel's research department and has been invited by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad to become his senior adviser.

## SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)  
as the Ministerial Security Committee. No details were divulged except that it was announced that reports for the defence establishment and intelligence on the Lebanese situation were presented and discussed and that the discussions will continue at another cabinet session.

Sources in Jerusalem denied a report that Israel had proposed a joint Israel-American military operation to deter Syria and help prop up the Jemayel regime.

Jerusalem, it is understood, will be extremely disappointed if Washington turns a deaf ear to the demise of the agreement. But the disappointment will not cause irreparable damage to what is still be-

ing described by sober ministers as "our honeymoon."

Opposition leader MK Shimon Peres, touring Arad and Dimona yesterday, linked Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon to the condition that Israel be allowed to patrol Lebanon from the air and sea; that the late Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia be turned into a brigade within the Lebanese Army (with Israel being given a say in choosing its commander); that Israel be allowed to place sophisticated early warning systems on Lebanese soil.

Peres told high school pupils in Dimona that the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines must not be construed as a Soviet-Syrian victory.

## KREMLIN

(Continued from Page One)  
would delay proclaiming a new leader until after the funeral.

Mourners streamed by the thousands yesterday to view Andropov's body in the House of Unions, whose marbled halls were draped in red and black. The three-abreast column stretched for kilometres, snaking through north-central Moscow and weaving back and forth across wide avenues.

In London yesterday, U.S. Vice-

President George Bush, who will attend the funeral, expressed hope that the new Soviet leaders would recognize an American desire for reduced East-West tension.

Speaking after a weekend of talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who is also going to Moscow, Bush told a news conference his mission would be to outline a broad context in which the two sides could have various kinds of contact. (AP, Reuter)  
(See Chernenko, Page 4)



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir addresses American and Canadian Young Herut at Jerusalem's Hilton Hotel last night. (Yossi Zamir)

## U.S. actions against Syria 'do not include Israeli role'

**Jerusalem Post Correspondent**

**WASHINGTON.** — The U.S. does not foresee any fighting role for Israel against Syria, Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger told interviewers yesterday on NBC Television's *Meet the Press*.

Weinberger said that the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines from Beirut would be completed in less than 30 days, but that they might return to shore from Sixth Fleet ships to serve as "a spearhead" to force the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops.

The secretary said the recent shelling by American warships was intended to defend U.S. troops, diplomats, civilians and "interests" in Lebanon. The U.S. continues to support the broadening of President Amin Jemayel's government and opposes any attempt to turn Lebanon into a "Soviet-controlled enclave," said Weinberger.

Asked why the U.S. had not opposed Syrian intervention in Lebanon prior to Israel's invasion in 1982, Weinberger replied that Soviet control of Syria had grown following the war.

Under-Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger said on ABC Television's *Face the Nation* yesterday that it is doubtful whether other countries would be willing to replace units of the Multinational Force until the situation in Beirut stabilizes.

Eagleburger said Israel is "not ir-

relevant" to the situation in Lebanon and that the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese agreement serves Syria as a pretext for not withdrawing its forces from Lebanon.

Eagleburger said that the American policy of shelling in response to the shelling of Beirut would continue until Syria changes its "general approach" to the crisis in Lebanon.

Vice-President George Bush echoed this warning yesterday in London after meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. He told reporters that U.S. naval gunfire would continue to be used in Lebanon as long as anti-government forces there continue to shell Beirut, and particularly the U.S. Embassy.

Bush said "our response has been aimed at protecting Beirut and American lives. If the American Embassy is hit with shells, American forces are going to fire back. That is exactly what has happened and that is exactly what is going to happen," he added.

He and Thatcher reaffirmed an Anglo-U.S. intention "to work for progress towards a peaceful and stable Lebanon."

Bush said that Syria is "in a position to have a constructive role in the Middle East peace process." He repeated several recent administration promises that the U.S. would aid Lebanon to combat terrorism, but he gave no details.

## Shamir going to Brussels

**Post Diplomatic Correspondent**

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, in his capacity as foreign minister, will fly to Brussels next Sunday to confer with European foreign ministers attending a session of the EEC Council of Ministers there. Shamir will also visit The Hague during his four-day trip.

Observers attach importance to his talks with French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, in view of France's key role in Lebanon now that the U.S. is pulling its troops out. Paris, for the moment, is

staying put.

Shamir will seek to present to the EEC forum Israel's concerns and apprehensions over the effect of Spain's and Portugal's imminent accession to the EEC on its agricultural exports.

Political circles in Jerusalem interpret the trip as a demonstration by the prime minister that he is perfectly capable of functioning as foreign minister too — to the chagrin of David Levy, who still hopefully awaits his appointment to the post.

With sorrow we announce the death of

**DAVID MORGENSTERN**

Mourning by wife, Tony son, Joseph and wife and grandchildren

The funeral cortege will leave on 10 Adar 5744 (Feb. 13, 1984) at 2 p.m. from the funeral home, Shargar St., Jerusalem for the Mount of Olives cemetery. A bus will leave for Jerusalem at 12 noon from 1 Gluskin St., Tel Aviv. Prayers at 7 a.m. and 5 p.m.

In deep sorrow we announce the death of our dear member

**HERZL GOLDBERY**

The funeral will leave from Beit Ha'am at Kfar Yedidya for the local cemetery today, Monday, February 13, 1984 at 3 p.m.

The Family and Kfar Yedidya

We share the grief of the family on the passing of our dear colleague

**HARRY (Herzl) GOLDBERY**

Netanya Meils On Wheels

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee mourns the death of

**ALFRED WEICHSELBAUM**

a colleague who dedicated life-long service to the Jewish people

Ralph I. Goldman, Executive Vice-President Henry Taub, President

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved

**DAVID ZELKOWITZ**

on Sunday, February 12, 1984 in Tel Aviv.

The funeral will leave tomorrow, Tuesday, February 14, 1984 at 11 a.m. from the Sanhedria funeral parlour, Jerusalem, for the Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Jerusalem.

The Bereaved:

Children: Marsha, Hyman, Roberta

Grandchildren: Debora, Stephani, Craig

Brothers: Max, Phil

Sister: Bracha

We announce in deep sorrow the passing of our beloved

**ELLA NELKEN**

on Sunday, February 12, 1984.

Brother: Dr. Ludwig and Lucia Nelken

Families: Marcus, Nelken, Shemi and children

MITZVAH The League for Family Rights extends its deepest sympathy to

**MIRIAM FISHER**, Vice-President of Mitzvah on the passing of her beloved mother

**FRIEDA**

Prina Peli, President Lynn Sharon, Executive Director

Sylvia Mandelbaum, Founder and the Executive Board of Mitzvah





Bat Yam schoolchildren are given a demonstration of the robot used to remove suspicious objects, as part of the local police community relations programme. (Isaac Freidin)

## Lachish area moshav will be dissolved

**By YITZHAK OKED**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Moshav Movement has initiated steps to dissolve Moshav Sde Moshe in the Lachish region because a large proportion of its members are marketing their produce privately and no longer fulfil their collective obligations to the moshav. This also means the moshav's expulsion from the movement.

Moshav Movement secretary Amos Hadar said yesterday that similar steps will be taken against other moshavim. He would not say how many, but he stressed that it

was a small proportion of the 270 moshavim in the movement. Hadar noted that Sde Moshe was currently having economic problems, but that the reason for the movement's steps against it was ideological. He admitted that matters had been brought to a head by the current crisis in agriculture. He said the movement "should have put its foot down several years ago."

"The Sde Moshe members owe their aguda (central organization) some IS300 million. In the normal procedure, the aguda is able to debit the members from the sale of their produce; but as several members are not marketing through

the moshav's collective marketing framework, this cannot be fully implemented.

In moving to dissolve the moshav, the Moshav Movement will also ensure that the various debts can be collected.

A member of Sde Moshe told *The Jerusalem Post* that the moshav had been a successful venture, but had become fragmented by feuds among the members. In the current situation the largest group of 25 members is paying back its debts to the collective, 17 members refuse to pay, and another 15 members are not capable of paying.

## 2 suspects in Zinger's death ordered released on bail

The Jerusalem Magistrates Court yesterday ordered the release on bail of the two suspects in last November's murder of 17-year-old Maya Zinger, the first suspect to be released immediately and the second after 48 hours.

In the first of two hearings yesterday, Judge Miriam Nao accepted evidence sent by police Inspector Danny Shemesh from the U.S. as incriminating suspect, Moshe Turgeman. But, the judge ruled, the evidence does not justify Turgeman's continued detention. (Both suspects have been held for 30 days.)

Zinger died in hospital four days after she was found beaten and lying in a campfire near Hadassah Hospital in Ein Kerem. Shemesh was sent to the U.S. to question a former schoolmate of the victim at the Israel Goldstein Youth

Village. Her testimony included the fact that Turgeman had met with Zinger several times and not once as he had told the police. The questioning of a girl in the U.S. is continuing, a police representative told the court.

In the second hearing, Judge Uzi Sivan accepted defence counsel Shaul Marcus's argument that no significant progress had been made in the investigation since his client, Shlomo Sa'adon, was last remanded. The judge ordered his release on bail after a 48-hour delay to allow the police time to appeal the decision.

A police source said that despite Turgeman's release, the investigation continues and he would be arrested again if further incriminating evidence is found against him. (Itim)

## Beersheba man charged with murder

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

BEERSHEBA. — A 27-year-old local man was charged yesterday in the local district court with the murder of Shoshana Partosh, 24, last month. Yitzhak Cohen is accused of murdering Partosh by strangling and then stabbing her

near the tennis courts in the Sanhedria Park.

Cohen is charged with premeditated murder. The police say he prepared his weapon, a switch-blade knife, in advance. Thirty-two prosecution witnesses are to be called.

## Arms for drugs earns 11-year sentence

HAIFA (Itim). — A soldier who stole weapons and sold them for money and drugs was sentenced to 11 years in jail yesterday by the district military court.

Turai (private) David Ben-Hamo from Zichron Ya'acov was found guilty of stealing an M-16 rifle and five Galil rifles, magazines and three grenades from his artillery unit. He sold them to a villager of Deir

al-Asad in western Galilee for IS7,500 and a supply of hashish.

The court rejected the defendant's claim that he had been threatened and acted out of fear. It ruled that he had acted out of greed and a desire for drugs and without regard for the consequences. Ben-Hamo was found guilty of stealing army equipment, trading in arms and using dangerous drugs.

## Tougher rules to fight school violence

Stricter disciplinary rules for the country's schools will soon be published by the Education Ministry, the ministry spokesman Yisrael Cohen reported yesterday.

Cohen said that while clear guidelines already exist, a ministry investigation found that in certain areas, schools should be allowed to use harsher disciplinary measures to combat violence. He said the schools will be given wider powers for the punishment of violent pupils.

The rules were recommended by a committee under Gershon Bergson, at the request of chairman of the Education Ministry's pedagogic secretariat, David Pur. Cohen also said the ministry will extend its programme for training teachers to prevent school violence.

## 'A Married Couple' wins best director prize

The Israeli cinema prize for the best director of 1983 has been awarded to Yitzhak Yeshurun for his movie *A Married Couple*.

The cinema prizes, worth IS7 million and sponsored by the Education and Industry Ministries and Elite, were distributed yesterday in a ceremony at the Jerusalem Cinematheque.

The judges decided not to award a first prize in the best picture category. But the second prize went to *A Married Couple*. A special prize was awarded to Amos Gutman's *Nagva* (Touched) for the first feature film by a director.

The best-actor award went to Yonatan Segal for *Nagva*, and the best actress award went to Miri Fabian for *A Married Couple*. Yosi Wein, who filmed *Nagva*, was named best photographer.

# Temple Mount security greatly enhanced

**By ROBERT ROSENBERG**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

New security arrangements, including an enlarged force of more than 100 men, have been installed at the Temple Mount, while police remain silent on the investigation into a sabotage attempt there last month.

The security arrangements include a closed-circuit television network, consolidation of Border Police, police and Wakf (Moslem religious trust) guards into one unit, and a beefing up of the officer-ranked staff at al-Aksa Mosque, night and day. Metal detectors are to be installed at the various entrances to the mount (one is already operating at the Mograbi

Gate), while patrols are to be divided among some 120 men assigned to round-the-clock guard duty on the mount.

Nitzav Yehoshua Caspi said yesterday when the procedures were announced, that the police had to keep in mind "that one can't turn a holy site into a fortress."

Meanwhile, police investigators are still trying to find who left behind dozens of grenades and other explosives in a late-night getaway from the mount several weeks ago. The investigation, headed by Southern District detective Rav-Pakad Amiram Fahima, is working closely with the military police, which is trying to trace the grenades back to the unit where

they were stolen.

The General Security Services is also involved in the inquiry, as they are in investigating the grenade explosion in Bethlehem this past weekend. The Israeli-made No. 26 grenade exploded in an empty field near the town, after being triggered by a passerby who discovered it in a box. He ran away from the explosion and was uninjured and there was no damage. While police already said they had evidence linking the attack to the other booby-trapped grenades in the Jerusalem area since mid-December, a telephone caller to Gali Zahal, the army radio early yesterday morning said Terror Against Terror was responsible.

A radio spokesman said the telephone caller sounded like the same man who had earlier made calls following — and sometimes preceding — the discovery of sabotage attempts on non-Jewish religious sites.

Although police say the grenade in Bethlehem was the same type as the grenades used in those attempts, they noted two important differences between the Bethlehem bombing and past attempts.

The Bethlehem attempt took place on a Saturday, while all the past attempts were either on Fridays or Sundays; and the grenade was not aimed at a mosque or church in the area.

## Supermarket aims for peas, not to please

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — The race to keep up with inflation was lost recently by a reader of *The Jerusalem Post* in a Co-op Supermarket in Bat Yam, where an employee grabbed a can of peas he had selected out of his hand and labeled it with a higher price tag.

The reader's complaint was passed on to the Ministry of Trade's consumer protection office, whose

director Ovadia Shragay, called the incident "brutal." While he confirmed it is within the law to relabel old stock with new prices, he said it was of questionable legality if this could be done once the customer had made a selection.

The director suggested it would be more appropriate for stores to revise their prices outside of shopping hours.

## U.S. Jewish leaders here to demonstrate solidarity

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

The Reagan administration is basically sympathetic to the needs of Israel and American Jewry has a good feeling about the administration, according to Julius Berman, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Berman, whose statement, according to a spokesman "did not constitute a political endorsement of Reagan" in the U.S. presidential campaign, held a press conference yesterday at Ben-Gurion Airport. He was accompanied by 21 other presidents of national U.S. Jewish organizations and dozens of other American Jewish leaders who came for four days of briefings in Israel.

Berman is president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America and is serving a second term as chairman of the Presidents' Conference.

Berman and some of his colleagues met with National Security Adviser Robert MacFarlane in Washington last week. Berman also met with Secretary of State George Shultz a few weeks ago.

The 72 members of the delegation, who are to meet with most government ministers and to be briefed in closed sessions by ministry professionals, came to demonstrate American Jewry's solidarity with Israel "at a time of serious political, military and economic problems here."

## Navon's visit to Argentina sparks local community row

**By DAVID LANDAU**  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BUENOS AIRES. — A visit to Argentina next month by former president Yitzhak Navon has become the focus of intense infighting among Jewish community leaders here.

One prominent figure in the community accuses the local Labour-Zionist party of "kidnapping" Navon and trying to keep him from visiting institutions not associated with the Labour faction.

A leading non-party Zionist figure told *The Jerusalem Post*: "There is a feeling that Navon's visit will be used for election purposes." Elections are due to the AMIA, the main organ of Jewish communal life here, a few weeks after Navon's visit.

The behind-the-scenes infighting apparently reached such a pitch last week that the Israeli ambassador, Dov Shmora, was called in by the feuding factions as a sort of arbitrator, and it is he who will now have the final word on the ex-president's tight timetable.

The man who accused the

Labourites of "kidnap" is Saul Rochberger, a former president of the Hebraica culture and sports organization and now the founder of a new movement, "Brera." "Brera" is planning to run in the AMIA elections and will seek to challenge or at least erode the long-established Labour domination of the community.

"In the past," said Rochberger, "when we at Hebraica invited to Argentina prominent Labour Party personalities from Israel — Motta Gur or Yitzhak Rabin — we were delighted to 'share' them with all the other local organizations."

"But the Labour askanim here — they live for petty politics. They think it would be a great success if they can kidnap Navon and keep him to themselves."

Specifically Rochberger is peeved because Hebraica has been told Navon will have "no time" to attend the opening of its new school, the "Amos" high-school.

"Amos" is Hebraica's first-ever venture into education. It will be housed in the organization's

magnificent 13-storey centre in Buenos Aires.

Navon will find time, however, to Hebraica's chagrin, to visit the "Sholem Aleichem" school, closely associated with the Labour party, and to attend its 50th year celebrations.

Israeli sources here justified this decision. They said that Navon's programme is genuinely tight; he will spend much of his time meeting with government and parliamentary figures. In addition, he is to appear at a convention of representatives of provincial Jewish communities in the capital, and also at a gathering of Sephardi Jewish leaders from all over Latin America.

There have been complaints, however, not only from vying party-political groups, but also from fundraising organizations within Argentine Jewry that Navon is to give them no time or attention at all.

Exacerbating the row over Navon is the longstanding and bitter personal feud between the president of AMIA, Dr. Krupnikoff (Labour) and the present president of Hebraica, Dr. Fleischer.

The election campaign for the AMIA, meanwhile, promises to be a lively affair — influenced, it seems by the general return of democracy in Argentina and the stirrings of new spirits that this has encouraged.

The "establishment," Labour-led since time immemorial, will have to defend itself against charges of ossification and "selling-out" to the Orthodox parties, Mizrahi and Aguda. Says Brera director Osbaldo Wajncmyer: "People, especially young people, are 'turned off' by the community. They don't want to think about communal life. The first contact many of them have with the AMIA is when there is a death in the family — and then they encounter a mercenary attitude towards grave-selling."

And Brera's treasurer, Jacobo Goldstein, adds: "Who needs Avoda in Argentina? Or Henuh for that matter? The community leadership is old and stultified. We need to draw in the 30 to 50 age group, or we're done for. Young people are attracted by conservative and Reform — but these movements are allowed no say."

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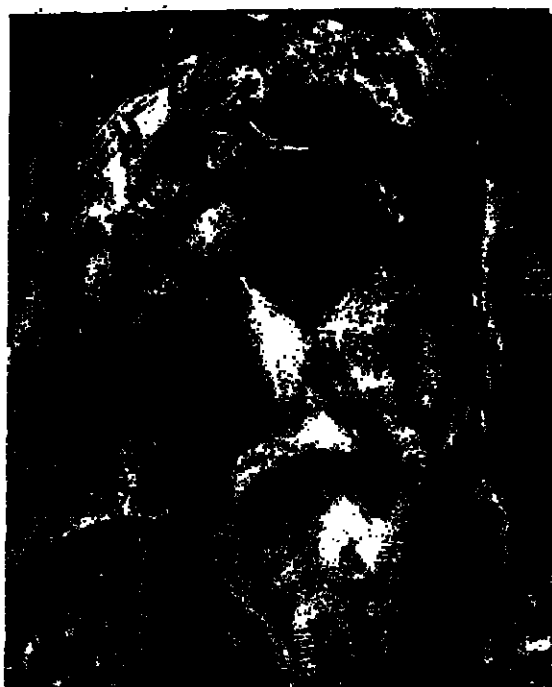
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## Shi'ite leader: Punish Jemayel

By ANDREW TARNOWSKI  
BEIRUT (Reuters). — Shi'ite Moslem leader Nabih Berri, 45, the new master of West Beirut, has long been a political moderate by Lebanese standards, but now he wants the head of Maronite Christian President Amin Jemayel.

His voice rising in anger, Berri says Jemayel must answer for the death and destruction wreaked by the army on Beirut's Shi'ite southern suburbs in fighting earlier this month.

He says four days of shelling of the teeming slums, as troops fought off his Amal militiamen, forced 150,000 people to flee and destroyed many of their homes. No one knows how many died.

Berri believes that "punishing" Jemayel and army officers should take precedence over efforts to break the political deadlock left by a swift series of political and military defeats inflicted on the American-backed president.

"There are rules in war. When the rules are broken you have to forget about politics," Berri told journalists. "It is Jemayel's right to try to save himself and it is my right to achieve the punishment of the man who destroys the people."

Berri does not say what punishment he wants for Jemayel, but he

wants him out of office — at the very least through a constitutional amendment reducing the presidential term from six to two years, which would leave Jemayel only eight more months in office.

As the first Shi'ite Moslem militia leader to reign in West Beirut since civil war began in 1975, he is anxious to avoid alienating its largely Sunni Moslem and Christian population.

He has moved fast to discipline the Shi'ite, Druse and Sunni militias which jointly took West Beirut and to reassure inhabitants he is no Shi'ite fundamentalist revolutionary, like Iran's religious leaders.

Press censorship enforced by Jemayel has been lifted. An army curfew imposed in West Beirut but never in Christian East Beirut has been dropped, although few people yet brave the darkened streets and sporadic shooting.

Within 48 hours of the militias swarming out of the slums to seize West Beirut, Berri ordered them off the streets and deployed them against the army along the "green line" frontier with Christian East Beirut.

His Amal militia, the biggest and most organized group, sent out armoured patrols to check roving gangs of gunmen.

After a day of anarchy in which the Canadian ambassador was robbed, the British ambassador's residence threatened and robberies of homes reported, West Beirut yesterday returned to a semblance of normality.

The squalid slums of Beirut that Christian-dominated governments have largely ignored have been Berri's constituency since he became leader of Amal in 1980. He says he held the anger there in check until last week, giving Jemayel every chance to seek national reconciliation, political reform and social justice.

But it became too much last week, as tens of thousands of shocked survivors flooded into West Beirut with plastic bags packed with possessions to sleep in parks, hallways, cheap hotels, vehicles or any empty apartment they could find.

On the fifth day the militias surged into West Beirut, climaxing a rapid chain of events that have left Jemayel isolated, powerless and close to political annihilation.

At a weekend news conference Berri hammered home his anger. "If this (destruction) happened in your country, would any ruler survive?" he snapped at American journalists.



Nabih Berri.

(UPI)

## Chernenko: Top priority is to end arms race

LONDON (AP). — Soviet Politburo member Konstantin Chernenko, a leading contender to succeed the late president Yuri Andropov, said in *The Sunday Times* that improving relations with U.S. is "more important than ever before."

But the 72-year-old Chernenko warned that the Soviet Union will not tolerate the U.S. gaining military superiority.

He said in an article written before Andropov's death last Thursday, that Moscow harbours "no secret intentions or malicious designs."

"We are open to the world," the conservative Soviet Communist

Party's ideologist wrote.

"In its foreign policy, the Soviet Union attaches top priority to safeguarding and strengthening peace and is determined to end the arms race," he went on.

"We are in favour of an active and fruitful dialogue with nations living under a different social system to ours, the United States and Great Britain in particular," Chernenko wrote.

"To work patiently so as to create a climax of trust and accord on earth is what my country is calling on other nations to do."

But he stressed: "The Soviet Union has great military might. We are capable of meeting any chal-

lenge effectively.

"We hope, however, that nobody will be tempted to test the Soviet Union's strength again. We are not seeking military superiority, of course, but we will not concede to any nation gaining such superiority over us."

He conceded that "the USSR and the USA have much to divide them."

But he noted: "Today it more important than ever before to multiply our efforts towards mutual understanding."

"The imperative need to preserve peace and to guarantee every nation the right to free and independent

development has priority over everything else."

The Soviets, he said, are "concentrating on constructive tasks, such as advancing socialist democracy, developing industry, science and technology, agriculture and culture."

"Our progress in these fields is truly spectacular."

He added: "This is not to say that we have no difficulties. They do exist, and the Communist Party frankly admits them."

But, overall, he said: "My country is getting richer and more advanced culturally, and its people have a higher standard of living than ever before."

## China signalling Moscow on chance to boost relations

PEKING (Reuters). — China is sending diplomatic signals to the Soviet leadership that Yuri Andropov's death could provide an opportunity to improve relations.

The announcement that Vice-Premier Wan Li will attend Andropov's funeral is regarded here as a significant hint that a new Soviet leader could make progress in healing the rift between Peking and Moscow.

The vice-premier, accompanied by a delegation of Peking's Soviet

experts, will be the highest-ranking Chinese visitor to Moscow in nearly two decades.

Below the premier (Zhao Ziyang), he is the highest they could send, a western diplomat said.

Wan Li is considerably higher in the Chinese hierarchy than the then foreign minister Huang Hua, who attended Leonid Brezhnev's funeral in 1982.

China's leaders sent a telegram of condolence to the Kremlin on Saturday that was liberally in-

terspersed with hopes for better relations.

"President Andropov had expressed on several occasions his desire to improve Sino-Soviet relations. It is the sincere desire of the Chinese government to see relations between the two countries normalized," the telegram said.

Meanwhile, it was announced in Damascus that Syria will send a high-ranking Syrian delegation headed by Prime Minister Abdul-Raouf al-Kasm.

State Minister for Foreign Affairs

al-Shar'a told a news conference that the delegation would include Defence Minister Lt.-Gen. Mustafa Tlass and the undersecretary general of the ruling Ba'ath Party, Abdullah al-Ahmar.

The failure to attend of President Hafez Assad was apparently due to the fact that he was still recovering from a heart ailment.

South Yemeni President Ali Nasser Mohamed and PLO chairman Yasser Arafat left for Moscow yesterday.

## El Salvador's army in sweep of north kills 62 guerrillas

SAN SALVADOR (Reuters). — El Salvador's army said on Saturday that it killed 62 guerrillas and overran a rebel stronghold during a sweep of the north aimed at securing territory before elections in March.

A senior army officer said troops from the elite U.S.-trained Belloso Battalion killed 20 rebels last Friday in an attack backed by the air force on rebel camps on a mountain in the northern province of Chalatenango.

Lieutenant-Colonel Rene Emilio Ponce, head of the Belloso Battalion, said another 42 guerrillas died in three other clashes, but he gave no further details.

Two soldiers were killed and 12 wounded in fighting when 2,000 troops sweeping the province converged on the mountain known as Volcancillo, he said.

He told reporters who visited the area on Saturday that the troops surprised some 300 to 500 rebels.

U.S. Navy commissions

4th Trident submarine

NEW LONDON, Connecticut (AP). — The U.S. Navy on Saturday commissioned the USS Georgia, the fourth in the nation's fleet of Trident nuclear-powered submarines.

## 4,500-year-old egg found in China

PEKING (AP). — Archeologists have unearthed a 4,500-year-old whole egg at a neolithic site near Zhengzhou, Henan Province, in central China, the official Xinhua news agency reported yesterday.

Smaller than a chicken's egg, the object was found in a layer of earth

about 1.4 metres thick, along with broken egg shells of the same type, polished stone axes and spades and pot shards.

Archeologists believe the finds belong to a late primitive society linked to the Yangshao and Longshan cultures, the report said.

## Kashmiris protest front leader's hanging

ISLAMABAD (AP). — Thousands of people across Pakistan protested against Saturday's execution of Kashmiri leader Maqbool Butt, who was hanged after eight years of waiting in a death row cell in New Delhi.

Butt, 40, founding member of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, was hanged in the maximum security Tihar Prison for allegedly killing an Indian security agent.

The front sought independence for the Himalayan state of Jammu and Kashmir, which has been under

Indian occupation since 1947. Pakistan also claims the territory, and the dispute has led to war between Islamabad and New Delhi twice since 1947.

Thousands of shopkeepers in Azad Kashmir, a smaller section of the state, which is under Pakistani administration, shuttered their businesses to protest against Butt's hanging. All schools, colleges and government offices were also closed.

## Australian pilot killed in Sudan attack

CAIRO (Reuters). — An Australian pilot was killed in an insurgent attack on a construction site in the southern Sudanese swamps on Friday when several other foreign workers were abducted, diplomatic sources said here yesterday.

The sources said details would probably be released soon in Melbourne, but Cairo-based diplomats understood that he died

when secessionists shot up the hut where he was sleeping. Rocket grenades and small arms were used in the attack.

The sources said it was most likely he died in the battle and was not taken hostage along with six or seven other foreigners engaged in digging on the Jonglei Canal project. The fate of those abducted was not known.

## Sports

### Slap in the face

Post Sports Staff

Joel Kramer, 28, the basketball player who was kept on the bench by Maccabi Tel Aviv most of the season and then had his contract summarily cancelled, has been signed on by the San Diego Clippers, a National Basketball Association team. His contract is for two seasons. Prior to coming to Maccabi, he played in the NBA for five years with the Phoenix Suns. No adequate explanation has been given of why Maccabi failed to fit him into their squad.

NBA SATURDAY: Phoenix 108, Dallas 99; San Antonio 123, Detroit 116; Chicago 101, Golden State 96; Cleveland 86, Indiana 83; New York 138, Denver 112. The Knicks have now won eight of their last nine matches.

### Hawaiian golf

HONOLULU (AP). — Wayne Levi, who won this title in 1982, used the pair of his eagle-birds start to compile a 7-under-par 65 and move out to a 10-hole lead on Saturday in the third round of the \$500,000 U.S. Hawaiian Open Golf Tournament.

## Finn wins double gold

SARAJEVO (AP). — Finnish cross-country skier Marja-Liisa Hamalainen became the first double gold medalist of the XIV Winter Olympic Games yesterday, and Norway, Sweden and Italy all won their first golds of the games.

Hamalainen, the 28-year-old blue-eyed blonde who reached the top of her sport after years of trying, added the gold medal for the 5 kilometre race to the one she had already captured for the 10 kilometre.

Tomas Gustafson won the men's 5,000 metre speed skating — the

first Swede to strike gold in this sport since Johnny Hogglin won the 10,000 metres at Grenoble in 1968.

For Italy, Olympic veteran Paul Hildgartner won the men's singles luge. He has won Olympic medals twice before.

On the indoor ice, Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean were awarded four more perfect scores for their dancing. The British pair, who made skating history with three 6.0s in the compulsory dances on Friday, were leading the ice dance competition with the medals to be awarded after Tuesday's free dance competition.

## Windies triumph, England slump

MELBOURNE (Reuters). — The West Indies proved emphatically yesterday that they are kings of one-day cricket with an easy six-wicket victory over Australia to win the World Series Cricket Cup finals 2-0, with one game tied.

The West Indies, playing without injured captain Clive Lloyd and leading batsman Viv Richards, overhauled Australia's total of 212

for eight wickets with four overs to spare and the loss of only four wickets.

Gus Logie, who only got his chance to tour through the withdrawal of Gordon Greenidge, hit a masterly 88. Jeff Dujon was unbeaten on 82 at the finish and hit the winning run. For Australia, Kim Hughes made 65, Joel Garner took 5 for 51.

## Blizzards kill 30 in Europe

ZURICH (Reuters). — Heavy snowfalls and blizzards in the last few days have killed nearly 30 people in central Europe, blocked roads and disrupted traffic.

Road and rail links were gradually returning to normal yesterday in the Swiss Alps after the worst spate of avalanches in years.

One in Airolo, the second to strike this village near the Gotthard Pass, killed a man in a chalet Saturday night, bringing the death toll to Switzerland to 10.

The Simplon Pass and Great St. Bernhard road tunnel, both leading to Italy, were reopened yesterday, but the toll to the ski resort of Les Diablerets and the Furka rail tunnel near the Gotthard were still blocked.

The mountainous central region of Abruzzo in Italy reported its worst snowfall in 20 years, averaging between two and three metres. In some places, snowdrifts reached five metres.

Many villages are still cut off and tourists are marooned in at least two hotels.

RAFFLE. — An English farmer yesterday won what was claimed to be the biggest raffle prize ever, a magnificent 30-room Georgian mansion standing on 1,600 dunams of lush Irish countryside.

## Handball rise

The Netherlands beat Israel 21-19 (10-8) in the play-off for third place of the C Division of the World Handball Championships in Italy. For Israel, Ron scored 4; Gamliel and Zarfat 3 each; Perri, Canaan, and Madmoni two each; Yostipowitch 1.

Despite this defeat, Israel goes up into the B Division. Bulgaria emerged top of Group C as a result of beating Finland 25-19 in the play-off for the first place.

## United rampant

LUTON (AP). — Manchester United scored a crushing 5-0 win over Luton Town yesterday and roared back into contention for the English First Division soccer title.

England captain Bryan Robson and Northern Ireland striker Norman Whiteside both hit two and Frank Stapleton got the other.

## Records broken

Tony McCoy, of Georgia University, broke the indoor track world record for the 400m, at Gainesville, Florida, his time of 0:45.79 bettered the existing record by 17 seconds.

In June, Italian runner won world records for the indoor men's 400m and 800m. In June, Japanese runner won the Tokyo Marathon.





# Without Andropov

## A Sense of Hazy Continuity Fills In the Blanks for Soviet

by SERGE SCHIRMANN

**W**HENEVER a Politburo member dies and the Grand Hall of Columns is draped in mourning for the lying in state, older Russians are invariably reminded of the traumatic, violent and awesome days after the death of Stalin 31 years ago.

After perhaps the most intensive personality cult in human history, after a brutal war in which men went to their deaths with Stalin's name on their lips, after a terror in which Stalin often seemed omniscient, the sudden announcement of his mortality set fear and bewilderment loose among the masses. Millions thronged into the streets, and in the chaos and panic untold hundreds were trampled to death.

The state funerals of recent years, by contrast, have been studies of total and efficient organization. Whether for Mikhail A. Suslov, Leonid I. Brezhnev, Arvid Ya. Pelise or Yuri V. Andropov, the formats, rituals and schedules have followed an unchanging script, from the black crepe draped over the tall chandeliers, the melodramatic intonations of television announcers, the identical wreaths of plastic flowers and pine boughs, to the mile-long lines of designated mourners hurriedly ushered between rows of soldiers through a largely deserted city center.

No fear, no confusion, not even grief. Instead, a sense of continuity, order and propriety, an assurance that the state remains stable, the Communist Party dominant. So it was when Mr. Andropov was laid out last week on the mandatory bier of flowers, medals and red-and-white streamers, flanked by honor guards, the Moscow Symphony and his friends.

While a steady stream of high officials, workers, soldiers and clerks filed respectfully past, elsewhere in the city the familiar armies of suburbanites mounted their weekly raids on Moscow shops, seemingly oblivious to the drama being played out nearby. The consoling message issued by the Kremlin seemed to bolster the faith: The Soviet people are firmly convinced, it declared, that the party, the Central Committee, its leading core, remains steadfastly faithful to the Leninist banner, to the cause of Great October.

The absence of a successor, the mysterious failure of the Central Committee to meet in formal session yesterday, the appointment of Konstantin U. Chernenko — only recently Mr. Andropov's rival for power — to head the funeral commission all spoke of power struggles, fierce debates and shifting coalitions somewhere behind the facade of uniformity and ritual.

Senior members of the Central Committee were reported to be gathering in the Kremlin yesterday, but the election of a new party general secretary may not be held until tomorrow.

The only sign possibly visible to the public of all this was the swift, silent passage of black limousines through the streets hung with bunting in red and black.

Many people were curious, to be sure, about who should come next, and mumbblings of Gorbachev, Romanov, Chernenko, Aliyev occasionally floated from pass-

ars-by. But there was no evidence of edginess over the fact that the party had no apparent head; no sense of a power vacuum or the kind of fear that seized Russia after Stalin's death.

The fact is that for all the powers that accrue to the Kremlin's paramount chief, for several years now the Soviet Union has functioned under an absentee leader. Mr. Brezhnev, in the last years of his rule, seemed too senile to act as more than a ceremonial chief. Mr. Andropov fell ill almost immediately on taking power and soon faded entirely from view.

The fact that the state continued to function — indeed, that in the past year it could initiate an array of economic experiments and cope with the crises of the Soviet downing of the Korean jetliner and the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe — confirm for many Russians the popular idea of the leadership as a hazy "they," a collective and indistinct bureaucracy that seems to cut new leaders consistently from the same cloth and to plod along no matter who "they" are.

There are experts who argue that Mr. Andropov could have done far more had he been healthy, that the changes he mapped out in internal affairs could be much farther along by now had he been there to personally prod, cajole and threaten recalcitrant party apparatchiks and bureaucrats.

### Search for Stability

No doubt he could have done more. But like Mr. Brezhnev before him, Mr. Andropov was very much a representative of powerful interests, institutions and power brokers. If Mr. Brezhnev ascended to power with the blessing and support of men and organizations tired of terror and chaos and eager for stability, Mr. Andropov rose to the top on the shoulders of men and institutions — the military, the K.G.B., the foreign ministry, reformist elements in the bureaucracies — who were alarmed at stagnation in the economy and widespread corruption in the party.

This, perhaps, is what the people sense in their lack of concern — that the top man is no longer as awesome; "frightening or powerful as he once was." Stalin, wielding enormous personal power, sending millions to their death while the rest ecstatically sang his praises, Nikita S. Khrushchev ended the terror, but still tried to direct the state through personal fiat.

But through Mr. Brezhnev's prolonged senility and Mr. Andropov's absence, the party chief became more a symbol than a force. Their words were quoted and their pictures held on high, but both men were products rather than masters of the vast and cumbersome bureaucracy of state, as faceless as the rituals that have supplanted politics in the Soviet state.

Under Mr. Brezhnev, the state coagulated into a vast apparatus offering a modicum of security after the years of chaos, but sacrificing initiative and momentum. Mr. Andropov, in his scant 15 months, tried to chart a new course somewhere in between, but he was felled by diabetes and kidney disease before he gathered any steam. He could not have been an active or forceful leader if, as the medical bulletin said, his kidneys failed two months after he

### Slim hopes for a new start with Moscow.

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Factory workers in Leningrad at a meeting marking the death of Yuri Andropov.

came to power.

Mr. Andropov made no move to return to the earlier, Stalinist style of rule, and probably could not have, despite the great powers he wielded as former chief of the K.G.B., the Soviet secret police, and those he assumed on reaching the top. His goal was to generate some momentum without shaking the existing bureaucratic structure, and his instrument was a coalition of like-thinking forces.

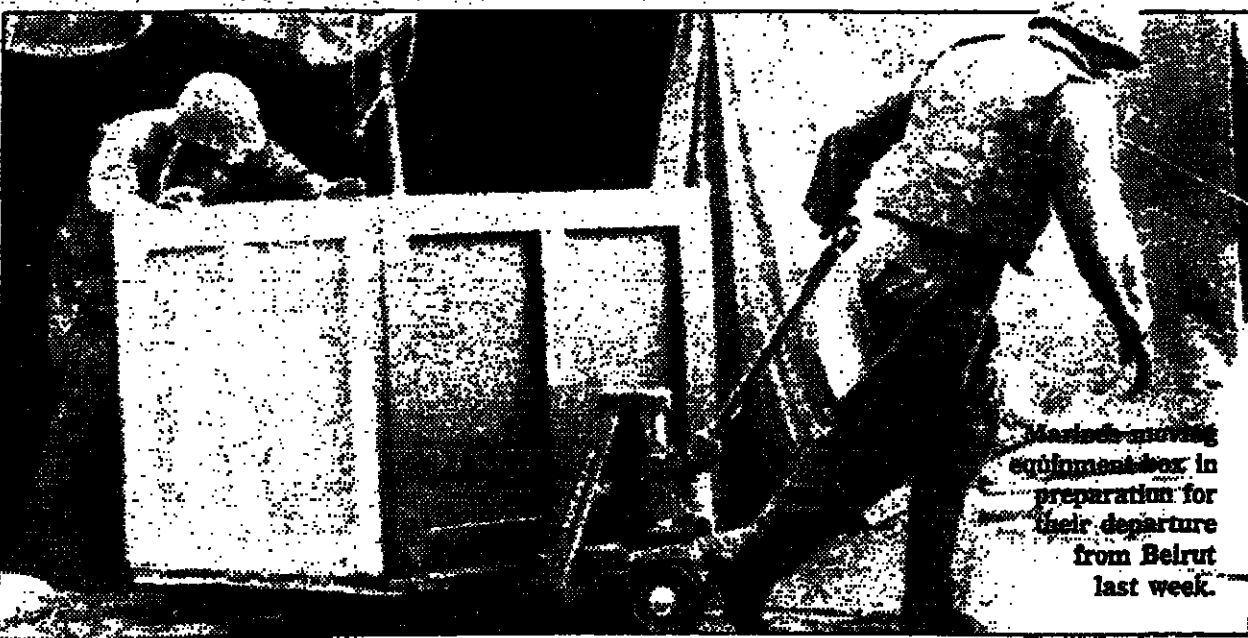
This is the policy that his successor will inherit, whoever he may be. Most diplomats believe none of the candi-

dates has the political clout or backing to buck the strong Andropov coalition, and chances are that the Kremlin will come under a politically dependent and probably aged leader.

Those who yearn for a tough boss, for order in the realm and dramatic progress, will likely be disappointed. But those who remember the fear and hysteria of that funeral 31 years ago, and the cost at which progress and order were bought, might be just as happy to keep the Kremlin on automatic pilot for a while more.

### With Marine Retreat, Isolated Gemayel Appears Ready to Deal With Syria

## Understandings, Old and New, Crumble to Chaos in Lebanon



Lebanese army equipment in preparation for their departure from Beirut last week.

by THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

**T**HE most frightening thing about being in Beirut last week was not the widespread shelling of civilian apartment houses or the window-rattling bombardments of the battleship New Jersey. Rather, it was watching a society come apart, with people running through the streets in panic not knowing where the fighting was coming from, where it would lead or when it would stop. The status quo that had developed as a result of the Israeli invasion had collapsed.

"People are living hour by hour now," remarked Tammam Salam, head of the Makassad Welfare Society. "Everyone is lost — it all happened so fast." On Monday morning the Lebanese Army was routinely fighting with

the Shiite Amal militia in West Beirut for the fifth straight day when the word went out, true or not, that the army was planning to send Christian-led reinforcements into the predominantly Moslem western half of the capital. Within minutes, Shiite and Druse militiamen were ordered to seize all Lebanese Army positions. Aided by sympathetic army soldiers, the Moslem militiamen took control of their half of the city within 21 hours.

By the weekend, Christian and Moslem gunmen once again manned barricades along the "green line" dividing West Beirut from the Christian eastern half. President Amin Gemayel's opponents, stronger than ever, were demanding his resignation. American plans to restore Lebanon's sovereignty and build up its army seemed to be going up in smoke. President Reagan turned the situation into an opportunity to pluck the marines out of the Lebanese morass — leaving Syria once again to be the

kingmaker of Lebanese politics.

Not a bad day's work for a few hundred ragtag militiamen — but of course it wasn't really just a day's work. President Gemayel's Government and in effect the whole 1943 Moslem-Christian formula for ruling Lebanon had been eroding for the past 10 years, and the events of last week were a climax of that process. The traditional Lebanese way of patching things up isn't working.

To begin with, demographic changes can no longer be contained in the old formula that gave the Christians the presidency and the majority of the seats in the Parliament, while the Sunni Moslems got the prime minister's post and the Shiite Shites were left with the post of speaker of the house. There are believed to be more than 1.2 million Shites now, making them the largest single religious community and roughly as big as the Maronite Christians and the Sunnis combined. They are no longer docile.

### Lebanon day by day, page 2

What happened in West Beirut last week was in some sense a Shiite-led Moslem revolt against the old order. It was also the Moslems taking back what the Israelis in the summer of 1982 gave the Christian Phalangist party — total domination of the key posts of government and in effect West Beirut. Interestingly, the two people calling loudest for President Gemayel's resignation, the Druse leader Walid Jumblat and Shiite Moslem leader Nabih Berri, are like Mr. Gemayel in their early 40's. These men have little respect for the old system.

Mr. Gemayel, however, seemed to have no intention of resigning and his Maronite Christian supporters rallied around him. He apparently hoped to persuade his opponents and the Syrians to reconvene the Geneva reconciliation conference, for which he would pave the way by offering to tear up the May 17 Israel-Lebanon withdrawal accord. With enough Saudi and American pressure on the opposition this might get everyone back to the negotiating table. The Reagan Administration would have to give up a tangible foreign policy achievement in the May 17 agreement, but the accord seemingly never had a chance of being implemented anyway. Israeli Prime Minister

Yitzhak Shamir warned Mr. Gemayel yesterday against scrapping the agreement, declaring that such action would mean the end of Lebanon's independence and indicating strongly that Israel would have to occupy southern Lebanon indefinitely.

There's little reason to expect that a second round of Geneva talks would succeed. For one thing, there is no mediator. In the past the Lebanese president, backed by the army, was a neutral arbitrator between all factions; Mr. Gemayel, however, is perceived by the Moslems as being the same as the Phalangists. The Syrians have burned their bridges with the Christians and the Israelis would hardly be acceptable to anyone. The Americans are trying to do their best to bring all sides together, but they are hampered by a pragmatic and fair-minded approach that seems alien here.

Despite all of the talk that the Lebanese conflict is not a civil war but a problem of meddling by foreign powers, there is a core problem here of how Moslems and Christians can live together in a single nation. The simple fact is that a lot of these people just don't get along. While the fighting last week looked very abnormal, in fact, said Michel Abu Jawdi, the political columnist for the newspaper an-Nahar, "it was the real Lebanon. If you look back over all the years since 1943, the peaceful ones have been few. We have been on the brink of civil war all the time. It has been our dilemma since independence."

### Clear choices in Salvador, murky plans in Nicaragua

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# The World

## Hopes for Better Times With New Soviet Leader

East-West tensions being what they are, most of the world hoped last week that things would get better under Yuri V. Andropov's successor. Politicians, diplomats, editorialists and ordinary people were inclined to expect continuity in Soviet policy but nonetheless saw at least a chance for improvement.

President Reagan's decision to send Vice President Bush to Moscow for the funeral disappointed many in Europe, as in the United States, who had been urging personal diplomacy on the President. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the only Western leader to have had face-to-face talks with Mr. Andropov, said he would go. So did Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who indicated he would seek to further his campaign for disarmament.

Le Monde, the influential Paris daily, said a new man in the Kremlin would allow development of a dialogue between Moscow and Washington. But Le Monde reminded its readers of the "illusions" born with the advent of Mr. Andropov 15 months ago and advised caution. Cautiously, the Dutch Government said, "We must not lose hope that the new Moscow leadership will assume a constructive stance."

The Chinese Government was businesslike. After reporting Mr. Andropov's death without comment, it improved relations with Moscow by signing a trade agreement that provided for a 60 percent increase in exchanges over the next year. Later, Peking expressed hope for more improvement. Money, stock and commodity markets took the news in stride, evidently discounting any big change in international relations.

The Soviet bloc appeared to have mixed feelings. The official Bulgarian press agency spoke of the country's "deep grief and nationwide sorrow." But many Poles smiled at the news, and more than a few celebrated the occasion with a drink. More sober heads saw no change in what they considered Soviet-inspired repression.

## House Wants A Say in Aid

Although President Reagan vetoed a similar bill in November, the House voted last week to require the Administration to certify progress on human rights in El Salvador as a condition for continued military aid. If the measure gets to a vote in the Senate, it is expected to pass, as it did last year.

Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who headed a commission on Central America that linked aid to human rights, predicted at a hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Administration would compromise but not to the point where restrictions in aid would endanger the existence of the Salvadoran Government. Mr. Reagan had previously accepted a link but aides said he wished to control the flow of funds and rejected any obligation to report to Congress as he once had to do. A big part of the problem is that many members of Congress doubt the Administration's willingness to ride herd over the Salvadoran Government. A State Department survey on human rights throughout the world said last week that noncombatant deaths in El Salvador had declined since 1980. It noted, however, that "the level of political violence remains high" and that the number of disappearances in 1983 was the same as in 1982.

Mr. Kissinger defended the commission's recommendation of \$8.4 billion in military and economic aid over five years against critics who contend that too much emphasis had been placed on military solutions. One of the critics last week was President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of Mexico, who told a news conference in Mexico City that the United States should "come to the conviction that military intervention, far from solving the problems,

would aggravate them." In two days of testimony in the House and Senate, Mr. Kissinger contended that military aid was necessary "as a shield for the economic and political programs we recommend. It takes a year to build a bridge and half an hour to blow it up," he said.

## U.S. Improves Ties to Brazil

One cause of strain between the United States and Brazil was removed last week when the Reagan Administration agreed to lift export curbs on the latest technology for Brazil's growing and highly profitable arms industry. Military relations were cut seven years ago when Brazil suspended a military assistance treaty in protest against criticism by the Carter Administration of Brazil's human rights record. Mr. Reagan has been less inclined to make an issue of human rights than Mr. Carter and, in any case, Brazil's conduct on this score has improved.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said "a source of persistent misunderstanding" had been removed by the agreement he signed during a visit to Brasilia. The accord was expected to result in greater opportunity for American firms in a market now dominated by Europeans. When the Carter Administration cracked down, Brazil developed its own arms industry, entering into joint ventures with European firms. Brazil is now the world's sixth largest arms exporter. Two of its biggest customers are Iraq and Libya, which cannot buy weapons from the United States. The technology agreement provides for Washington's approval of all Brazilian sales of arms that include American technology.

Strained relations in the nuclear field were also patched up. The Carter Administration had halted supplies of fuel for Brazilian power stations because of Brazil's refusal to accept safeguards against use of the fuel for military purposes. Brazil turned to West Germany as a supplier of enriched uranium. Last week, the United States agreed to repair defective fuel elements supplied before the dispute began and waived financial penalties incurred when Brazil refused to buy the American fuel under the imposed conditions.

## Israel Reins In West Bank Jews

An announcement by the Israeli Cabinet last week seemed evenhanded and, at first glance, obvious. All residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have an obligation to obey the law and maintain public order, it said.

But behind the announcement was the recognition that for months, Jewish terrorism and vigilantism against Arabs have been worrying political, religious leaders and civil rights leaders and provoking little apparent action by the police or the Justice Department against the offenders. Jews have taken the law into their own hands by punishing Arabs who commit such hostile acts as throwing stones. Jews are also believed to be responsible for 13 hand grenades planted since early December in mosques, churches and Arab homes. At the end of last month an attempt to blow up at the two holiest Arab shrines in Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock and Al Aksa Mosque, was foiled by Arab guards.

The Cabinet statement said law enforcement in the West Bank and Gaza fell to the army, with the help of the police. It threatened punishment of anyone who took "upon himself the task of a policeman or soldier." Nothing was said, however, about the practice of issuing automatic rifles to West Bank settlers to defend themselves. The Cabinet also tried to deal with complaints by Jewish settlers of official leniency toward Arab youths who stone cars and buses. Prosecutors in courts martial will demand "severe prison sentences," the statement warned.

Henry Gliniger  
and Milt Freudenheim

## Verbatim: Fears in Guyana

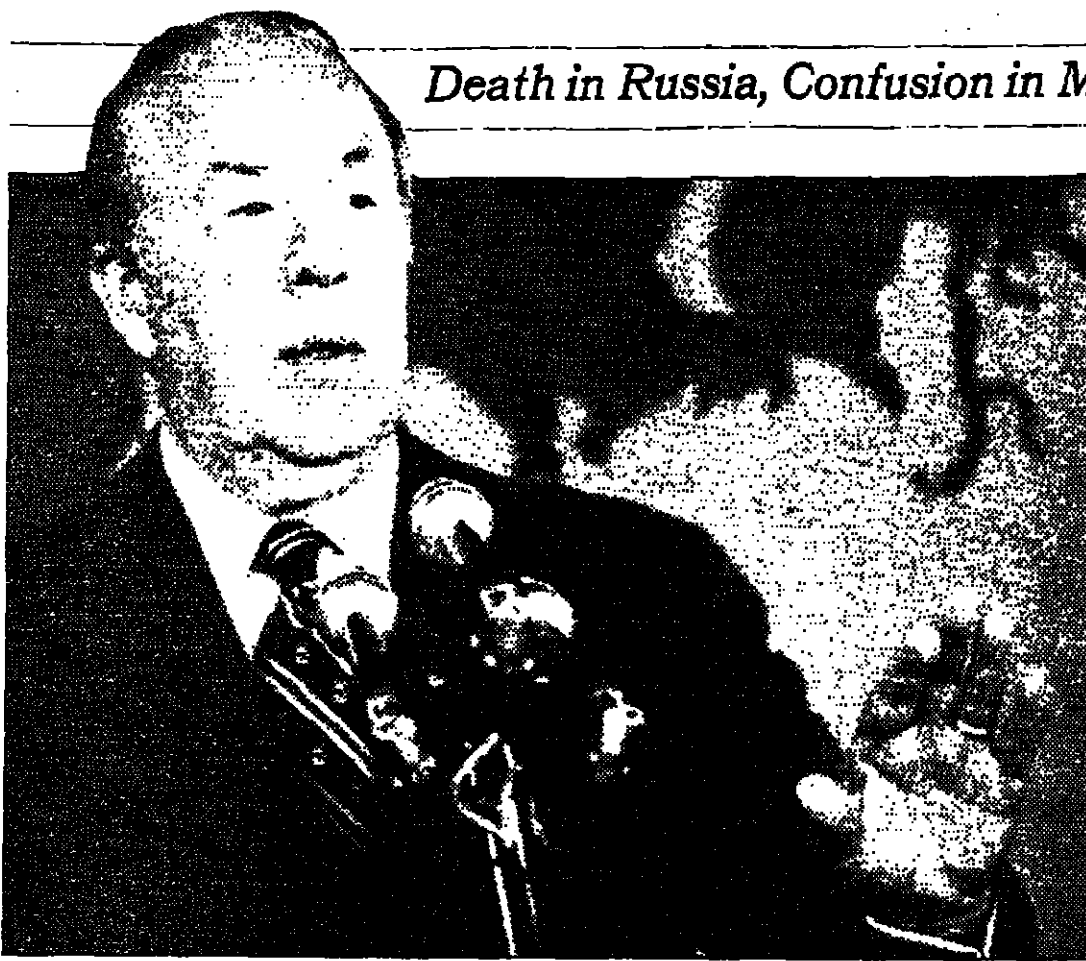
### Forbes Burnham

President of Guyana, discussing what he called United States efforts to undermine his country's socialist system.

"Every country has a right to choose its own road, and what worked for the United States in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries won't necessarily work here.

"Guyana has a straightforward policy. We are leftists, but we are nonaligned . . . We refuse to take dictation from the Soviet Union, Cuba, or anybody.

"Reagan believes the way to spur the development of an economy is through private enterprise. That is his business. That is his country's business. His country elected him. On that basis we have no quarrel. We don't attempt to lecture him. Why should they lecture us? Just because we are smaller?"



Secretary of State George P. Shultz discussing the death of Soviet leader Yuri V. Andropov.

## Bush's Mission Has Slim Hopes for Breakthrough

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

WASHINGTON — For President Reagan, the death of Yuri V. Andropov has provided an opportunity for a possible thaw in Soviet-American relations just when Lebanon was providing the Administration's gravest foreign policy crisis to date. Congressmen who had been sharply attacking the Administration over the situation in Lebanon, were by Friday putting Lebanon aside to debate whether the President should go to Moscow.

Although the general assumption of diplomats and Soviet experts was that the new Soviet leadership was unlikely to suddenly alter Moscow's bitter suspicion of the Reagan Administration or go back on its refusal to resume nuclear arms negotiations until Washington halts its deployment of new missiles, the White House found it convenient to issue conciliatory statements after the announcement of Mr. Andropov's death. The Administration renewed its call for "a constructive and realistic dialogue" and asserted that there was much to cooperate on. In his weekly radio address yesterday, the President called for a joint search for ways to ease "the mistrust and ill will that cloud our relations."

For a few hours on Friday, in fact, the Administration considered the political windfall that might arise from Mr. Reagan's going to Moscow and repeating there his desire for nuclear arms control. Eventually, despite — or perhaps because of — the urging of Democratic Party Presi-

dential hopefuls, and of such members of Congress as Senator Edward M. Kennedy that he go, Mr. Reagan played it conservatively and decided to send Vice President Bush as his messenger.

Even without Mr. Reagan in Moscow this week, there is no question but that the President is succeeding by repetition in giving the impression that he has moderated his anti-Communist rhetoric and is now committed to seeking arms control agreements. If the new Soviet leadership continues to hold him at bay, it runs the risk of appearing so unreasonable that the Western allies who have had doubts about American policy will blame Moscow and not Washington for the lack of East-West progress. Although few were focusing on it last week, the Soviet Union has a significant credibility problem not only with its own people but with the world. The medical report issued after Mr. Andropov's death indicated that he had been gravely ill for a year at least. Spokesmen had been saying that Mr. Andropov had colds and would soon be back at work.

### A Timely Diversion

Whether or not the next Soviet leader picks up on the President's conciliatory message, the net impact of the second changeover in the Kremlin in 15 months should boost the Administration's standing just when its foreign policy in Lebanon seemed on the verge of a disaster. Washington's interest in and hope for resuming the Soviet-American dialogue could camouflage but not eliminate the more immediate and difficult problems in Lebanon.

## Death in Russia, Confusion in Mideast Cloud Policy

The American-backed Government of President Amin Gemayel, whose control had never extended much beyond the borders of Beirut, found itself on the verge of collapse, losing control over Moslem West Beirut as well as about 40 percent of the Lebanese army, which refused to fight.

While this was going on, Mr. Reagan stunned many in Washington by seeming to equivocate wildly. First he said he stood firmly with Mr. Gemayel. Then he pressured him in secret to agree to the departure of the marines whom Mr. Gemayel had seen as a symbol of the American commitment to Lebanon. Mr. Reagan then seemed to back off from his pledge never to "cut and run" in Lebanon. He issued a statement saying that he had decided on a phased withdrawal of the 1,400 to 1,600 marines in the multinational force. He also ordered the Sixth Fleet to fire on any forces behind Syrian lines that attacked Beirut.

Over the next few days, there was considerable confusion — even House Republicans said they could not understand what was going on. Representative William S. Broomfield, the ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, told Secretary of State George P. Shultz that "we are wondering whether or not our policy is dramatically changing."

The Administration's responses pleased nobody. In the past, Mr. Reagan had gone on television whenever he had something important to say on foreign affairs. After opening the week by leading a parade through his boyhood hometown, Dixon, Ill., in a celebration of his 73d birthday on Monday, and speaking at a fundraising luncheon in Las Vegas on Tuesday, he eschewed the cameras in seclusion at his California ranch. Those who favored the withdrawal of the marines expressed indignation that the statement announcing the phased withdrawal was not explicit on how long it would take. Was the Administration seeking to get out of Lebanon, or was it really planning to stay under somewhat different terms?

King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who are also passing up the funeral in Moscow, are to meet separately with Mr. Reagan at the White House this week and it is possible they may meet with each other. Mr. Reagan will have to explain his Lebanon policy to them and in preparation, there were a number of hectic meetings at the White House and State Department last week to see what could be done to shore up Mr. Gemayel, who, officials acknowledged, seemed barely able to remain afloat.

But the attention on Lebanon was apt to be distracted by Mr. Bush's discussions in Moscow with the new Soviet leadership. American officials said that they did not expect any substantive breakthrough in the aftermath of the funeral. But they will be looking in coming weeks for some acknowledgment by the Kremlin that it is in both countries' interest to intensify their discussions primarily in two fields, nuclear arms reduction and the avoidance of conflicts in the Middle East and other regions. The Soviet Union also has a list of grievances, including Washington's efforts to limit Moscow's ability to import advanced technology. This, too, the Americans say, is open for discussion.

The advent of a new Soviet leader also raises the possibility of a Soviet-American summit before the end of the year. Officially, Washington still says that such a meeting should only be held if there is assurance of some substantive results. But with Mr. Reagan already scheduled to go to Peking in April, there is a desire in both Moscow and Washington to balance that meeting with one of their own. Mr. Bush's experience in Moscow will help determine how to advance relations to a state that would make a summit worth having.



Anti-Government fighter looking across the green line dividing East and West Beirut last week.

## Lebanon's Crisis Day by Day

**Sunday, Feb. 5.** Under pressure from Moslem groups fighting the Lebanese Army, Moslem Prime Minister Shafik al-Wazzan and his nine-member cabinet resign. The Reagan Administration seeks to limit the damage by urging President Amin Gemayel, a Christian, to form a Government representing Moslem and Druse factions but conciliatory offers are rejected as "too late and too little."

**Monday.** Shiite and Druse forces take control of most of West Beirut and demand the resignation of President Gemayel. His position is further weakened by desertions from the army of Moslem units.

**Tuesday.** President Reagan announces a phased redeployment of the 1,400 marines from the Beirut airport to ships offshore and simultaneously, a bigger role for naval and air forces against militia groups attacking Beirut from Syrian-controlled areas.

**Wednesday.** The battleship New Jersey fires its 16-inch guns for more than nine hours in an effort to silence Druse and Syrian batteries shelling Christian-held East Beirut. The heaviest American military action in Lebanon in 16 months is described both as a warning to Syria and a protection for the withdrawing Americans. Support personnel begin to leave. Britain pulls out its contingent of 115 men while Italy orders a gradual pullback of its 1,600 men. France maintains its 1,270-man force for the moment while promoting the idea of a United Nations force.

**Thursday.** As the shelling of East Beirut continues, the American destroyer Moosbrugger and F-14 Tomcats keep up the American naval counteroffensive. Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger says "we are not leaving Lebanon," just moving troops "two to three miles to the west." While some of President Gemayel's foes confer in Damascus with the Syrians, Secretary of State George P. Shultz gives a gloomy assessment of Mr. Gemayel's chances of surviving the crisis.

**Friday.** About 1,000 foreign civilians are evacuated by American and British helicopters and ships. Israeli jets attack Palestinian positions along the Beirut-Damascus highway but the action appears more a retaliation for a rocket attack launched from southern Lebanon on an Israeli town than a response to appeals by Christian Phalangists to back Mr. Gemayel.

**Saturday.** Lebanese Army units loyal to Mr. Gemayel skirmish with Shiite and Druse gunmen across the green line dividing Beirut. Evacuation of foreign civilians continues under fire and a woman evacuee is wounded. Casualties from nine days of fighting total some 450 dead and 1,100 wounded.



## Elections Seem Likely to Bring Change to One, Confirm It for the Other

Clear Choices  
In Salvador,  
Murky Plans  
In Nicaragua

By HEDRICK SMITH

SAN SALVADOR — For an hour, the middle-class crowd in the suburban Guadalupe Gardens shopping center chanted, "Fatherland, yes! Communism, no!" and sang a political pep song about "Communist criminals with animal instincts." Finally, Roberto d'Aubuisson, the Presidential candidate of the right-wing Republican National Alliance (ARENA), made his entrance, a boyish, handsome, trim figure in a sporty red-and-white-and-blue T-shirt, smiling, waving and throwing kisses.

With folksy humor and acid barbs at his main opponent, former President José Napoleón Duarte, the left-of-center candidate of the Christian Democratic Party, he stirred a warm response, especially among women. Savagely, the former army major slashed at "the half-wit Duarte" and the "cretin Democrats" whom he castigated as "the political wing of the subversion" mounted by Communist guerrillas. "The Christian Democrats," he warned, "want to return to power and step by step turn our country over to Communism."

Mr. Duarte, a sturdy, scarred, 54-year-old veteran of two decades of political wars and military prisons, has so far disdained direct personal confrontation, preferring to preach a "dialogue" for peace and a "social pact" for economic recovery. But his television ads attack his foe as "Major d'Escudaron," a blistering reminder of Mr. d'Aubuisson's widely reported links to El Salvador's brutal death squads, known in Spanish as "escuadrones de la muerte."

The vitriolic battle in this nation's March 25 presidential election not only epitomizes the political polarization here, but also highlights the gamble that President Reagan has taken in banking so heavily on elections as the cornerstone of his strategy in Central America.

In El Salvador, the American hope is that the elections will produce a new national leader and give him a legitimacy that will bolster the Government's prosecution of the civil war against Communist-led guerrillas. But the risk is that the current political battle reflects a far deeper schism in Salvadoran society that may prevent the victor from governing effectively.

In Nicaragua, where the Sandinista Front seized power in 1979, Washington has pushed multiparty elections as leverage to force the Sandinistas to relax their grip, free the now censored press and allow opposition parties a genuine chance. The risk is that the Sandinistas will loosen up just enough to gain more respectability and acceptance among their Latin American neighbors and in Congress to disarm President Reagan's policy, without giving up significant power or control.

The Sandinistas have proceeded fitfully. Eight days ago they postponed legislative consideration of an electoral law, citing foreign air attacks on two Nicaraguan radio facilities as the reason. They quickly got back on track. But having eased censorship of the opposition newspaper La Prensa in December, they came down hard early this month when the newspaper wanted to print stories on opposition candidates, election proposals, and the Government's clash with Catholic authorities over faculty appointments in a parochial school.



Presidential candidates José Napoleón Duarte and Roberto d'Aubuisson (inset) campaigning in El Salvador last month.



"They couldn't stand it," said Enrique Bolanos, head of the Supreme Council of Private Enterprise and a leading opposition figure. "Eight weeks ago, they opened up a little door for La Prensa. We tried to open it wider. Already they're closing it." People like Mr. Bolanos see themselves in a continuing struggle until the 1985 elections to gain enough freedoms so that the Sandinistas cannot restore their monopoly of power.

What the Sandinista leadership seems to have in mind is rationed doses of political pluralism for the campaign period. Some members of the nine-man military directorate talk of a one-month campaign; others contemplate four months. Whichever it is, the Government talks of relaxing, but not ending, censorship; allowing reappearance of some, but not all, of the 22 radio news programs shut down in 1982; easing but not lifting the March 1982 law giving the directorate emergency powers; granting campaign subsidies to all parties, and allocating limited amounts of equal time on television.

The opposition has demanded much more: a complete and to press censorship now; lifting the emergency law; a campaign period of 6 to 12 months; a political amnesty for anti-Sandinista rebels, and the vital separation of the Sandinista Front from organs of the state like the national army, the police and the local block committees that issue food ration cards and driver's licenses as well as keep watch on every neighborhood. Moreover, the four

opposition parties, two trade unions, six professional organizations, La Prensa and traditional Catholic church leaders want any political relaxation for the election to be made permanent. But even were the 1985 election totally free, some analysts believe the Sandinistas would win readily. "They retain some genuine popularity among the young," a diplomat said. "They are very organized. Almost no one in Nicaragua is untouched by Sandinista organizations. The opposition parties are very weak and disorganized."

## Problems Whoever Wins

In El Salvador, the outcome is less predictable. More than half a dozen parties have fielded candidates but some are discussing coalitions to insure a spot if a two-party runoff proves necessary. Beyond the bruising polemics of Salvadoran stump politics, both Mr. d'Aubuisson and Mr. Duarte would have serious liabilities as President. Mr. d'Aubuisson has been publicly accused by former American Ambassador Robert E. White of having ordered the killing of Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero in 1980.

Last fall, the Administration signaled its disdain for Mr. d'Aubuisson by refusing to grant him a visa to visit the United States. Such actions are being read by many Salvadoran politicians as a warning that Congress would cut off military aid if Mr. d'Aubuisson were elected and

that the Salvadoran Army might overthrow him in a coup to prevent such action.

Were Mr. Duarte to win, he, too, would have very serious problems. Many members of the armed forces regard him as anathema because he nationalized the banks in 1979 and launched land reform, and because his running mate in 1972 was Guillermo Ungo, a Social Democrat, who has since joined the guerrillas. Mr. Duarte himself predicts that the right wing would escalate death-squad killings, try to disrupt his Presidency, as it did in 1980 and 1981, and provoke an army coup.

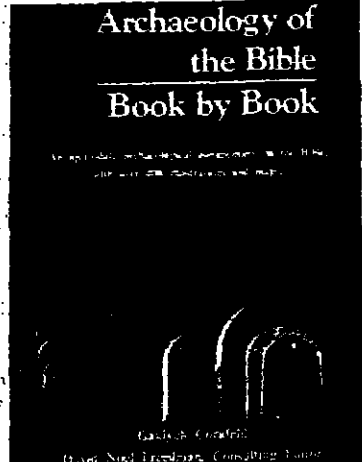
Earlier this year, the American Embassy, fearing a destructive polarity between rightists and Christian Democrats, began quietly to promote Francisco José Guerrero, a cheerful, chubby former Foreign Minister and President, as an alternative. But many Salvadorans regard Mr. Guerrero as something of a wheeler-dealer and complain that his National Conciliation Party has too many links to the conservative oligarchy. By many assessments, moreover, both he and Mr. d'Aubuisson are well behind Mr. Duarte and are battling for the same conservative voters.

Whatever the outcome, few Salvadorans see the election as nearly as much a panacea as the Administration does. "It's just one step," said Francisco Mejía, secretary of the National Association of Farm Cooperatives. "It's not the little hen that laid the golden eggs."

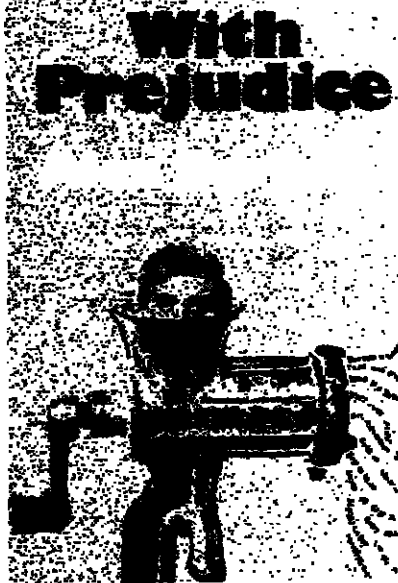
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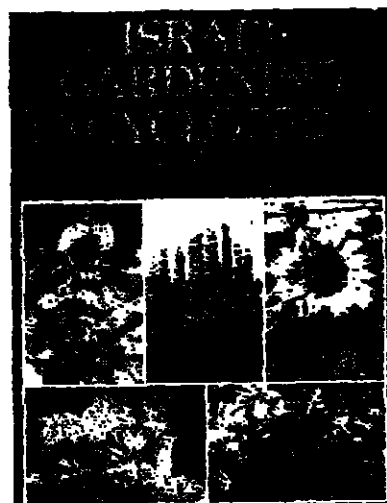
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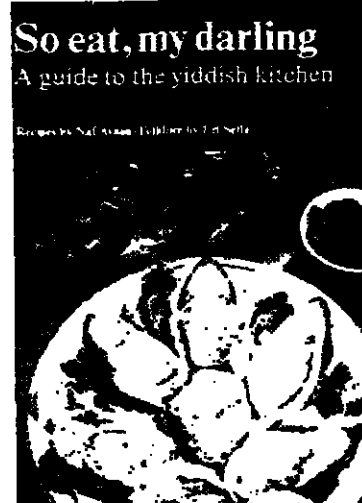
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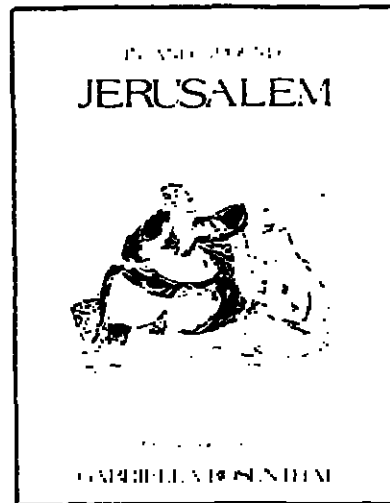
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# The Nation

## Senate Approves Change in Rules Of Evidence

The Senate continued to talk and vote tough about crime last week. Over the opposition of lawyers groups and civil liberties organizations, the Senate voted to modify the "exclusionary rule," a 70-year-old prohibition on the use of improperly obtained evidence in Federal criminal cases. Under the modifications, evidence could be used if law officers had been guided by a "reasonable good faith belief" that they were acting properly. Liberal senators, including those who voted earlier in the month for an omnibus anticrime bill, opposed loosening the rule, which was imposed by the United States Supreme Court in 1914 and later extended to state and local courts.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, said the bill "may well infringe on constitutional rights and important civil liberties." Senator Strom Thurmond, the South Carolina Repub-



Senator George Mitchell

can who heads the Judiciary Committee, argued that the measure "would stop criminals from escaping punishment through legal technicalities, which clearly undermine our criminal justice system."

The Senate subsequently did more talking than acting when time came to consider reinstating the death penalty for such Federal crimes as treason and attempts to assassinate the President and when a kidnapping or aircraft hijacking resulted in death. Opponents, including Maine's Democratic Senator George Mitchell, a former Federal judge and prosecutor, filibustered. They argued that executions wouldn't be much of a deterrent and that the Democratic-run House would never go along with the bill anyway.

The Justice Department wants to bring back the death penalty, and Mr. Thurmond offered a letter from the agency as evidence for his side. "It is essential," the letter said, "that the opportunity exist to impose the death penalty for the most brutal and reprehensible Federal crimes involving the murder of innocent victims or grave jeopardy to the very security of the nation."

## Missouri Billed For Busing Plan

No one knows the exact cost of the busing plan that is helping to desegregate the public schools in St. Louis, but with estimates ranging from upward of \$100 million a year when all the vehicles are rolling, it was hardly surprising that the matter ended up in court.

Last week, a Federal appeals panel ruled that the state, as "primary constitutional violator," should pick up most of the tab.

In so doing, the court upheld what has been termed the nation's most comprehensive voluntary-participation busing plan. It calls for the swapping of students between predominantly black inner city schools and mostly white suburban ones. In the program's first year, nearly 2,300 students from the city are attending classes in the suburban districts, while 389 suburban students have transferred to special "magnet" schools in St. Louis. Eventually, nearly 20,000 students will be traveling in one direction or another.

The court said the state would not have to pay for improvements that benefit only suburban schools or for transfers from several predominantly black suburban districts to nearby white districts, perhaps adding several million dollars in costs to

those areas. Even so, Attorney General John Ashcroft, who has made his opposition to the plan a major theme in his bid for governor, said Missouri vowed to take the issue to the United States Supreme Court. "We're only asking that justice be done," he said, "that the state be allowed to have its day in court to contest these charges against it."

The Reagan Administration, which has made no secret of its opposition to mandatory busing, sided with the state in the St. Louis dispute. Last week, in a friend-of-the-court legal brief filed in a Denver case, William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, said the courts should let local districts end mandatory busing once a judge's desegregation order has been implemented, even if it means schools eventually lose their racial balance.

The Denver school board voted last year to ask a United States District Court to declare that the city's schools have been desegregated and that its jurisdiction over the school system was over. "This is going to be one of the threshold issues in the 1980's in the school desegregation area," said Mr. Reynolds, who said that the Justice Department's brief had been filed at the urging of the school board. "The Supreme Court has said that court decrees do not last in perpetuity."

## Puerto Rican Officers Indicted

More than five years after they were shot and killed by the police, the case of two members of a Puerto Rican independence group has been given new life. A Federal grand jury last week indicted 10 former or current officers of the island's police force on charges of perjury, destruction of evidence, obstruction of justice and conspiracy to cover up the incident.

The police originally said they surprised Arnaldo Dario Rosado and Carlos Soto Arrivi, members of the Armed Revolutionary Movement, as they arrived on a mountaintop on the south side of the island, reportedly intent on "sabotaging" a television transmission tower. The authorities said the young men opened fire and they fired back in self defense. Several grand juries were convened, but the story began to unravel only after three of the officers testified before the Puerto Rican Senate last year that the two activists had been shot and beaten after they surrendered.

If convicted, the officers face five years in prison for each of the 44 counts in the indictment. The trial may also prove unsettling for Carlos Romero Barceló, the pro-statehood Governor who is running for a third term this year. The opposition Popular Democratic Party has made the Governor's support of the police its chief issue and his standing in public opinion polls has already dropped.

## More Lumps on Coal Leasing

Former Interior Secretary James G. Watt once said that it was up to businessmen, not bureaucrats, to determine the true worth of the nation's natural resources. In the case of coal on public land, however, what industry offered — and what the Government readily accepted — was below the fair market value, a Federal commission suggested after its final report last week.

David F. Linowes, chairman of the Commission on Fair Market Value Policy for Federal Coal Leasing, described the leasing program under Mr. Watt as "deficient in all of its functions." He called for further investigation of the 1982 sale of mining rights in the Powder River Basin of Wyoming, North Dakota and Montana, the largest such Federal deal ever. A General Accounting Office report last year contended that the Government lost \$100 million when it accepted rock-bottom prices for the leases, which were sold when a coal surplus had depressed the market.

The commission, appointed by Mr. Watt at the direction of Congress, singled out two of Mr. Watt's deputy assistant secretaries for blame. David Russell and William P. Pendley, who have since been demoted by current Interior Secretary William P. Clark, made "serious errors in judgment" in their handling of the sales, Mr. Linowes said. The report recommended a scaling back of the leasing program when the current moratorium ends. Later last week, Mr. Clark said he would delay a major sale of coal leases in the San Juan Basin in New Mexico, pending a decision on what sections to preserve as wilderness areas.

"James Watt's own hand-picked commission has returned with a guilty verdict on dozens of counts of mismanagement, ineptitude and corruption," said L. Geoffrey Webb, a representative of Friends of the Earth. "It's fair to say that the Administration's coal-leasing program has been completely discredited."

Caroline Rand Herron, Michael Wright and Richard Levine

## Iowa Chooses 58 Democratic Delegates Next Week



Senator John Glenn campaigning in Des Moines last week.

## Glenn Doesn't Believe in Leaving Them Laughing

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

DAVENPORT, Iowa — As the Iowa precinct caucuses draw near and Senator John Glenn faces his first real test of 1984, his top campaign officials are recalling one of his first outings in the arena of Presidential politics. It happened last spring, at the Massachusetts State Convention. Many of the other Presidential contenders had applied makeup for the television cameras. Mr. Glenn's staff, telling him he needed a little tone in his face, urged him to use some as well. "I'm not going to go out and talk to people with makeup on my face," he said.

That was one of his staff's first indications that their man had an unusual campaign style. The months that passed have only served to reinforce their conviction. Mr. Glenn will not pose for pictures wearing cowboy hats or construction helmets and is not comfortable with other staples of campaign folklore, such as kissing babies and sitting on bales of hay in remote farm towns.

Even the most loyal staff member acknowledges that Mr. Glenn is an enigmatic candidate: a politician who does not relish the politician's art; a man of personal warmth who often seems extraordinarily aloof; a popular figure who sometimes leaves his audiences cold. "I've been watching as people leave the auditorium," said a high campaign aide after a Glenn speech last week. "No one is taking a volunteer card. They leave informed, but they're not inspired."

The Glenn campaign, like the candidate himself, is pursuing an unusual political gamble that, if successful, might transform the Democratic party. If unsuccessful, it would render Mr. Glenn's adventure in Presidential politics a sad afterthought to a hero's tale.

From the start, the Glenn effort has been based on the idea that, in the final quarter of the 20th century, the Democratic Party cannot survive if it is controlled exclusively by the people who made up the New Deal coalition and by the ideas that animated the Great Society. It has been seeking to mobilize what Mr. Glenn has come to

call the "sensible center" of American politics. The Glenn campaign theory, known to political insiders as the concept of the "constituency of the whole," receives its first test next Monday, when the Democrats of Iowa choose 58 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The danger is that the "sensible center" may turn out to consist of the sort of people who do not care very much about politics, or, even worse for Mr. Glenn, the sort of people who may agree with his assumptions but who may not be moved to vote for Mr. Glenn himself.

## Power Brokers and People

The Glenn campaign strategists have argued all along that the Democratic nominee is to be selected by the voters, not by the party bosses, labor barons and media experts who have all but crowned Walter F. Mondale. Senator Glenn emphasized that theme last week campaigning through New Hampshire and Iowa. "You don't need to be lead around by the nose," he said to warm applause at St. Ambrose College here. "You can think for yourselves. You don't need some power broker announcing some candidate."

Still, public opinion surveys and the calculus of political professionals point to a number of disturbing signs for the former astronaut. The most recent New York Times/CBS News Poll showed that Mr. Glenn's "favorability" rating among Democrats likely to vote had dropped to 31 percent in mid-January from 53 percent in September. For all Mr. Glenn's emphasis on the future, the poll showed that 69 percent of these Democrats thought Mr. Mondale had the ability to deal with "new, unexpected problems," as against 41 percent who felt that Mr. Glenn did. Moreover, 83 percent of these voters thought Mr. Mondale understood the complicated problems a President has to deal with, compared with 51 percent who thought that Mr. Glenn did.

Perhaps for that reason, there has been nothing indirect about Mr. Glenn's attacks on Mr. Mondale as the candidate of "special interests." While Mr. Mondale has stepped up his attacks on President Reagan's economic policies, Mr. Glenn has turned on his Democratic rival's, charging that his proposed budget solutions would leave bigger Federal deficits than the President's. Last week, Mr. Mondale — who was presumably also feeling some heat from reports that Senator Gary Hart of Colorado was gaining significantly in both Iowa and New Hampshire — retaliated by calling Mr. Glenn's tax plans no better than Reaganomics. Friday, William White, Mr. Glenn's campaign chairman, called on the Federal Election Commission "to investigate the improper use of labor money by the Mondale campaign"; the Mondale campaign asked for an inquiry into a \$2.5 million line of credit Mr. Glenn arranged.

But what is most important in these final days before the first votes, in Iowa on Feb. 20 and in the first primary, in New Hampshire Feb. 28, is to rally the troops. Mr. Mondale is something of an old-fashioned stump speaker, tossing out applause lines like rice at a wedding. Gerald T. Vento, who became the Glenn campaign manager after a shakeup last month, said of his man, "We think he's very effective when he stops giving speeches and starts talking."

The outcome of the televised debate between the eight Democratic contenders yesterday afternoon, at the Des Moines Civic Center, was counted important by all camps. But it was considered especially so by Mr. Glenn, Mr. Hart and Senator Alan Cranston of California, who along with Senator Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina has been escalating his attacks on Mr. Mondale. Mr. Hollings has started telling Democratic gatherings in the South and in New England that Mr. Mondale might get the Democratic nomination, but he wouldn't win against Mr. Reagan in November.

## Blacks Hold Nearly a Quarter of Alabama's Civil Service Jobs

## A New Wallace for the New South

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Like many black Alabamians, Hezekiah Wagstaff admits there have been times when he has felt something other than affection for George Corley Wallace, the man who, excepting two four-year interludes, has been the governor of this state since 1963. "Ten or fifteen years ago, if I had gotten close enough to him, I think I literally would have choked the hell out of him," Mr. Wagstaff said in a recent conversation.

That would not be such a remarkable confession were it not for the fact that Mr. Wagstaff is a member of Mr. Wallace's staff. Indeed, as Mr. Wallace's assistant press secretary, Mr. Wagstaff is one of those responsible for polishing the Governor's public image.

If Mr. Wagstaff is given to speaking his mind with such candor, a trait he shares with his boss, it is only to make what he says is a larger point. That is, George Wallace, once a national symbol of intransigence on civil rights, is widely accorded to be a different man these days. Mr. Wagstaff says this ought to be obvious to anyone by the very fact that he works for the Governor.

The turnabout was illustrated with some drama in November 1982 when Mr. Wallace, running to regain the office he had given up in 1979, won the overwhelming support of black voters in defeating Emory Folmer, the conservative Republican Mayor of Montgomery. Earlier, in a Democratic runoff, Mr. Wallace managed to attract about one-third of the black vote, even though the state's powerful black Democratic caucus had endorsed his opponent, Lieut. Gov. George McMillan.

When the dust had cleared that November, it was the vote of blacks — who make up about a quarter of Alabama's voting-age population — that made the critical difference. And over the 12 months he has been in office, the Governor has taken steps that seem intended to prove to blacks that he was worthy of their support.

Mr. Wagstaff's appointment is one example. Another is that of Delores Pickett, a black former actress, who was named to head the newly created Department of Minority Affairs. She serves as Mr. Wallace's personal liaison to black people in the state.

It is Miss Pickett who assembles the data that show, for example, that since his inauguration Governor Wallace has named more than 160 blacks to advisory panels and boards. As he promised in the campaign, he has also used his influence to insure that blacks were named to key committees in the Legislature. Even more significant to blacks was Mr. Wallace's endorsement of a plan that more than doubled the number of

black voting registrars in Alabama's 67 counties. That will make it easier for blacks to register and to vote.

Still, not everyone is convinced that Mr. Wallace has done enough. "If you ask me, 'Has George Wallace paid back his debt to blacks?' the answer is no," says Joe Reed, the chairman of the Alabama Democratic Conference, the Democratic party's black caucus. "If you ask me, 'Will he?' the answer is: 'Time will tell.'"

Mr. Reed, for example, says that, for one thing, the administration has got to earmark more state funds for Alabama's traditionally black colleges, an expectation that others say the Governor will be hard pressed to meet given the depressed economy and the fact that the all public schools in the state are chronically underfunded.

Blacks now hold 24.5 percent of all civil service jobs in the state, as against 2 percent in 1970. But some black legislators say they have information, culled from computer printouts of employment files, that there are agencies with few if any blacks. One of these, they say, is the Highway Department. According to Alvin Holmes, a black legislator, there are fewer than 300 blacks among the department's 4,000 employees, and most of those hold menial positions. A few days ago Mr. Holmes threatened to sue if Mr. Wallace did not come up with an affirmative-action hiring program.

Miss Pickett, among others, argues fervently that Governor Wallace has done a good job for minorities, given the time he has been on the job in his current term. "It makes no sense to ask, after a year in office, whether or not Wallace has paid his debt to blacks," she said. "I don't know many folks who pay off their debts when they've still got three years to run on the note." Besides, she says the question of who is doing what for blacks in Alabama is not something to be addressed only to the Governor. "Times have changed in Alabama," she said. "We have the highest percentage of elected black officials in South-

They have to take some responsibility too for what's happening. You can't lay everything on Governor Wallace and say it's his fault if nothing happens."

If anything, the fact that people are asking these kinds of questions may be a clear measure of the changing realities of racial politics. Those changes are a large part of the reason that Mr. Wallace set out to court black voters when he ran for Governor in 1982. And that's also why some 200 blacks, including Mr. Reed, the black caucus leader, paid \$25 apiece to attend a fund-raising dinner in Montgomery last month on the Governor's behalf.



Gov. George C. Wallace



# MCI's Long-Distance Star Fades

Competition plus big outlays hurt the long-distance upstart.

By LESLIE WAYNE

THIS spring, television viewers will be blitzed by new commercials from the MCI Communications Corporation, the long-distance company that has long played David to the American Telephone and Telegraph Company's Goliath. In one, a young man prattles on while the telephone bill runs up — A.T.&T.'s higher charges and MCI's lower ones.

In a second, a tough-talking announcer promises MCI rates "30, 40 and even 50 percent" lower than A.T.&T.'s, and a third ad urges consumers to stop "putting off making yourself poorer and A.T.&T. richer." These commercials drew laughs when shown at a recent gathering of New York securities analysts. But it is serious stuff to MCI, which needs to take business from A.T.&T. to shore up its own faltering growth.

For MCI, the ads can't come too soon. By the company's own admission, the next several years will be a far cry from the golden days when MCI doubled its revenues annually and watched its stock grow even faster. "We can't grow at the rate that we once did," said William McGowan, MCI's ebullient chief executive, who has battled A.T.&T. for nearly two decades. "There's a rule that no company can be larger than the gross national product."

Indeed, these days, MCI — whose

\$1.5 billion in revenues are in fact a minuscule slice of the G.N.P. — must walk a tightrope between an increasingly aggressive A.T.&T. and even lower-priced upstarts breaking into the \$45 billion long-distance business.

"This business won't be the bottomless gold mine it's been so far," said Harry Newton, president of Telecom Library, a trade publisher. Added Uric Well, an analyst with Morgan Stanley: "They had everything going for them — until recently."

The pummeling of MCI shows up vividly in the stock market. Its shares, which traded as high as \$26 in 1983, sold for around \$10 in last week's troubled market, a result of dismal third-quarter earnings and grim forecasts of depressed profits for the next two to three years. The company is midway into a huge \$2.5 billion capital spending binge on new technology that has bloated its costs and shrunk its profits.

What's worse, there's no way out of

the pinch — at least in the short run. MCI, whose product still lags A.T.&T.'s technical edge, doesn't dare raise prices with other small long-distance providers snipping at its heels with ever-lower rates. Moreover, the company faces the grim prospect of even tougher competition in the years ahead as the telecommunications industry, like airlines before it, goes through an unsettling period of deregulation and potential overcapacity.

"It won't be great for us from a profit or a margin point of view," conceded V. Orville Wright, MCI's president. Company officials see pre-tax operating margins falling from the present level of 27 percent of revenues to about 15 percent — or even lower — and not reviving until about 1986. Analysts are even gloomier — predicting profits to fall by as much as 25 percent in the 1985 fiscal year.

All this is in sharp contrast to years gone by, when MCI was a corporate wonder tale: a scrappy underdog

that, by dint of hard work, clever use of the regulatory environment and with the guidance of the visionary Mr. McGowan, pulled itself from the brink of death to become a national long-distance provider with some 1.3 million customers. Its microwave towers can transmit calls to 80 percent of the nation's telephones, and it leases other phone lines to offer service to the rest. By moving first into high-density, intercity markets, MCI challenged A.T.&T. — which has 94 percent of the long-distance market — and took some 3 percent market share. (Those who have followed MCI into the business — GTE's Sprint, U.S. Telephone, Allnet and others — share the remainder.)

Indeed, MCI has made a sport of challenging A.T.&T. — and winning. The collision course began the day Mr. McGowan, the workaholic son of a Pennsylvania railroad unionizer, came upon Microwave Communications of America, a tiny Illinois company that was nearly broke but had one valuable asset — an inexpensive scheme to transmit telephone calls by microwave and offer discounts to corporations. That brought MCI straight into the path of A.T.&T., with its 85 million customers. MCI fought A.T.&T.'s bid on long distance in the courts — winning a \$1.8 billion judgment, which is now on appeal, against the giant company for denying MCI the right to connect with Bell's local network.

MCI was equally successful in the marketplace, but oddly, by being more a marketing company than a technological force: MCI's strength was understanding how to apply new technology, particularly in the long-distance battlefield, and its ability to attract customers through clever ads and price discounts.

MCI is a creation of Mr. McGowan and he is still its mastermind — the 56-year-old chairman operates out of a starkly modern but extremely cluttered office at MCI's corporate headquarters here. A heavy smoker, Mr. McGowan enjoys explaining his notion of the future of telecommunications and continues to dream up new strategies for MCI. Across the hall, Mr. Wright, a precise, churlish man, oversees MCI's daily operations and imposes order on Mr. McGowan's chaos. Together they manage MCI's 6,000 employees, double the number a year ago — a work force that Mr. McGowan proudly says is filled with fast-changing new arrivals.

There was joy in these offices when A.T.&T. settled a seven-year-old Justice Department antitrust suit by agreeing to divest itself of its local Bell operating companies on Jan. 1, 1984. That opened an important door for MCI — the settlement made certain it would eventually be as easy for consumers to use MCI's services as A.T.&T.'s. "Divestiture changed our world," said Mr. McGowan, whose office overlooks Washington.

But it may not be all for the better. "MCI was jubilant with the A.T.&T. settlement," said Morgan Stanley's Mr. Well. "Now it may not look so good." The A.T.&T. breakup opened the floodgates for low-priced upstarts to rush into long-distance services and give MCI stiff new competition. Many predict price slashing to follow as too many providers chase too few customers. And, MCI's costs of running its calls through the local Bell companies have risen — and will rise again as MCI's local connections are brought on par with A.T.&T.'s.

Already MCI has stepped up spending to keep pace with this new world. MCI will spend some \$2.6 billion in the next two years to expand long-distance capacity — including laying fiber optic cables along Amtrak beds

between New York and Washington — and it has invested an estimated \$180 million in such new areas as electronic mail, cellular radio and nationwide paging without getting a cent in return. And other costs continue to climb. MCI is still paying dearly to lease long-distance capacity to cities outside its network, and last month the Federal Communications Commission ordered MCI to pay about 50 percent more for access to local telephone companies — an item that last year took 17 percent of its revenues.

Still, MCI has vowed not to increase prices and, indeed, it can't. As a legacy of the 73 years of its monopoly, A.T.&T. has technologically superior connections with the local Bell companies that carry the local leg of long-distance calls. As a result, users of MCI — and other long-distance providers like GTE-Sprint — must make do with inferior service. MCI customers, for instance, must use tone phones as opposed to rotary dials and must dial as many as 13 extra digits to make a call. This has limited MCI's appeal to big-ticket commercial users and means that MCI must provide deep price discounts from A.T.&T. in order to attract a customer base.

Divestiture made it possible for all long-distance carriers to offer services as simple as A.T.&T.'s. But the winning of that transformation is taking place in phases and will not be completed until 1988. Until then, MCI will continue to pay less than A.T.&T. — currently pays 55 percent less — in access charges to the local Bell companies. But MCI's access costs will rise as A.T.&T.'s levels when MCI's local connections are upgraded and MCI becomes easier to use. Analysts predict this will force MCI — which has made its name on low rates — to raise prices and has caused some to question whether customers will even bother switching to MCI.

MCI believes otherwise. "What's significant is that we will finally have a level playing field with A.T.&T.," said Mr. McGowan, "and we'll be able to attract as much business as we can handle." He feels he can still underprice A.T.&T. — and steal its customers — because MCI's costs will continue to be lower. MCI is not burdened by long-standing labor contracts and it is building a newer and more efficient long-distance network.

But MCI is painting this rosy scenario just as debate and confusion have gripped the long-distance telephone industry. There is uncertainty over just what A.T.&T. — a \$25 billion giant — will do and will be allowed by the F.C.C. to do. Federal and state regulators could make rules that would hamstring the industry and hurt specific providers. No one can predict future long-distance demand or just how many providers — who now number some 260 — will enter the fray.

Many see trouble ahead: Overcapacity and suicidal price wars that are the inevitable outgrowth of deregulation. Price wars have come about in the airline industry, in trucking and in the brokerage industry when rules restricting competition were lifted. Many say there is no reason to assume that long-distance services will be different, especially since all providers are selling the same basic commodity. What is more, MCI and its competitors are adding capacity as fast as they can to a long-distance network that already provides service to all corners.

"It will be a period of price instability followed by more price instability," said Howard Anderson, managing director of the Yankee Group, a Cambridge, Mass., consulting firm.

INVESTING / Fred R. Bleakley

## What's Gone Wrong With the Market?

The Dow's 16-month boom ends with a drop of 130 points in five weeks. Is it a tailspin or only a correction?

IS the bull market over? Are bonds more attractive investments than stocks? Is it time to hunker down in stock groups that only shine in a slow-growth economy?

These were just some of the questions wrestled with by the investment community last week after the Dow Jones Industrial Average plunged 22 points Monday, followed by a 24-point decline two days later. As Robert Kirby, chairman of the Capital Guardian Trust Company in Los Angeles, put it: "What kind of a message is the market giving?"

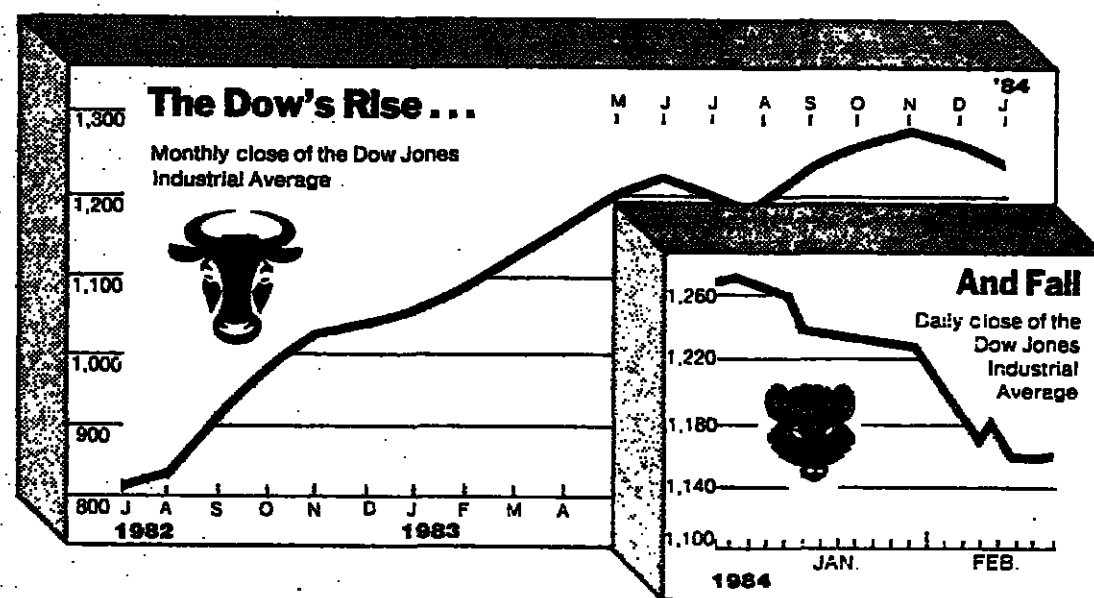
The confusion is understandable. Most analysts had expected the market to rise in the first half of this year — with a market correction sometime in the second half. But a combination of forces — ranging from the ballooning Federal deficit to lowered expectations for 1984 corporate earnings — kicked off a tailspin much earlier and much more severe. The market closed Friday at 1,160, up 8 points. The small rise was attributed, on the most part, to technical adjustments.

"The whole psychology seems to have changed," said Robert J. Chamaine, a managing director of Wertheim & Company. "It's as if someone just turned the lights on and everyone woke up. All of a sudden money managers have stopped believing the market will go over 1,300."

With the Dow off some 130 points (as of last Wednesday) and with investors losing \$158 billion on paper since early January, bargains are seemingly everywhere. But buying interest surfaced last week in only a few defensive areas, such as utilities, banks, pharmaceuticals and other stable consumer stocks. "Nobody wants to know about stock fundamentals. In the last 10 days, all everybody wants is cash," said Mr. Chamaine.

Adding to the confusion for money managers are the Wall Street strategists who are suddenly calling a different tune. When the year began, many of these gurus agreed that rising interest rates in the second half of the year might spark trouble. But with the latest nosedive, opinions range all over the lot.

"Is this a new bear market? Our work says emphatically no," said Richard Hoffman, of R.J. Hoffman & Company in New Jersey. He believes the market's recent drubbing presents "a real opportunity to buy stocks for long-term capital gains." He is advising clients to buy beaten-down technology stocks, such as I.B.M., Motorola and Texas Instruments, as well as capital goods



stocks like Cummins Engine, Clark Equipment and Dover Corporation.

Similarly, both Steven Leuthold of the Leuthold Group of Minneapolis, and David Bostian of the Bostian Research Corporation of New York, sent out buy recommendation wires last week to pension fund managers. As Mr. Leuthold put it: "This is the final end to the long corrective process that began last June when many of the secondary high-tech issues began falling. Now I think we have unwound all the excesses."

Market strategists, Suresh Bhurud of the First Boston Corporation and Steven Einhorn of Goldman Sachs, however, disagree with this game plan. Mr. Einhorn says the market will not reach a new high this year and that investors who stay in stocks will earn only half of what is available in money market issues, such as Treasury bills. But he does recommend some selective buying in such issues as American Cyanamid, Ethyl, Goodyear and Burlington Northern — all beaten stocks with strong earnings potential.

Mr. Bhurud thinks the market will slide even farther — to at least 1,100. And his bearishness, he believes, may have led to the recent round of trading losses. On Friday morning, Feb. 3, he alerted his company's salesmen that corporate earnings for this year would be substantially less than analysts had earlier believed. On that day, the market fell 17 points. His warning was based on recently released fourth-quarter 1983 earnings for the Standard & Poor's 500, which were less than expected. He now sees an average gain of 10 percent this year for corporate profits, compared with his original estimate of a 26 percent rise.

At the close of last Wednesday's trading, the market's 130-point slide over the previous five weeks represented a 10 percent drop — a steeper decline is usually regarded by insiders as the beginning of a bear market. And there are factors, analysts say, that could keep the market reeling. For one thing, the Federal Reserve has made it clear that its credit policy will not be very expansive this year — which keeps interest rates high and business and consumer spending at lower levels than previously expected. Then

President Reagan indicated he wouldn't tackle the giant Federal deficit until after the election.

Institutional investors also are no longer in the position to offer the market much more purchasing power. Before the bull market began in August 1982, less than 50 percent of the assets of most pension funds were in equities. By this January, however, this ratio approached 65 percent, the maximum set by most pension funds. Stock prices tend to tumble even more in a slumping market when prices can't be buoyed by institutional buying.

Two other factors exacerbating the market's decline have been margin calls and mutual fund redemptions. Three major retail brokerage firms one day last week, for example, told their clients who had bought stock on margin that they would have to inject at least an additional \$100 million in cash or securities into their accounts or their stocks would be sold. Margin debt has risen from \$10 billion 18 months ago to \$23 billion now — meaning that if the market continues to fall, margin calls could become an even more serious problem as investors are forced to pull out of the market. Similarly, many mutual fund managers have been under pressure lately as share redemptions exceed sales. At the Fidelity Group of funds, for instance, net redemptions were \$100 million in the first six business days of February.

DESPITE the market's jitters, most money managers haven't completely lost faith. Criterion Investment Management in Houston, for instance, sold off \$250 million in stocks, part of its \$2.5 billion equity portfolio, since the first of the year. But the move, said B. J. Willingham, the firm's vice chairman, is "in the context that this is a mid-course correction and we are still in a major bull market."

"We're wrestling with the problem like everyone else; but to panic here doesn't make any sense, just as it didn't make any sense to be enthusiastic when the market was at 1,280," said Andrew Furtak, portfolio manager for the \$1.5 billion IDS Investors Stock Fund.

standing debts, Victor Technologies became the latest casualty in the shakeout in the personal computer industry. The Scotts Valley, Calif., company entered voluntary bankruptcy proceedings to avoid being forced into a rigorous involuntary bankruptcy by its creditors. Victor, which went public last March, was a victim of the market's insistence on compatibility with the I.B.M. Personal Computer. Though Victor's 16-bit microcomputer sold well in Europe last year, it was not compatible with I.B.M.'s model, and therefore sold poorly in the United States. Its efforts at compatibility were slow and less than successful.

Joy Ride 1983. Helped by import quotas on Japanese cars and lower labor and production costs, General Motors reported record earnings for the fourth quarter and for all of 1983 — \$1.3 billion and \$3.7 billion, respectively. Roger Smith, G.M.'s chairman, who stands to get a \$680,000 bonus on the basis of the earnings performance, noted that the profits were earned on sales levels that were just 10 percent above 1980's, when the company lost \$763 million. But analysts gave most credit to the restraining hand on the Japanese. "Without the quotas, there would not be any record earnings," one analyst said.

Joy Ride 1984. Auto executives are raising their sales sights for this year.

After higher-than-expected sales levels in mid-December and January, when sales hit a 10.25 million annual rate, some executives adjusted their projections to as many as 10.5 million cars, up from 10 million to 10.3 million estimated last October.

Pratt & Whitney lost a second major military contract in less than a week, as General Electric won its second big contract. The Navy decided to put G.E. engines on the new version of its premier jet fighter, the F-14 Tomcat, which until now has been powered by Pratt & Whitney engines. The decision to switch manufacturers followed a similar one last week by the Air Force, which awarded G.E. a contract to supply 120 engines for its F-16 fighters, while giving Pratt & Whitney an order for only 40 engines for the F-15 fighters.

The restructuring of the American steel industry continued apace. The nation's No. 8 company, Wheeling-Pittsburgh, agreed to sell 10 percent of its common stock to the Nippon Steel Company of Japan. Moreover, the two companies said they planned a joint venture to build a coating line that would rust-proof the steel used in automobiles. The stock sale to Japan's No. 8 steelmaker will bring a critical cash infusion of \$35 million to Wheeling-Pittsburgh, which has lost more than \$100 million in the last two years.

### WEEK IN BUSINESS

## Volcker Unsettles the Stock Market

The Federal Reserve and its chairman, Paul A. Volcker, caused quite a stir last week as the board submitted its annual report to Congress and the chairman made his semi-annual appearance on the Hill. Mr. Volcker's message was, in essence, "cut the deficit before it's too late." While the Fed plans to orchestrate continued steady growth for the economy, he warned that it could not be expected to loosen its monetary policy to block a deficit-induced rise in interest rates, which could easily bring on another recession. The chairman added that Congress and the Administration would have to cut up to \$125 billion in the next two years to make any substantive progress. As a result of his warnings, the stock market plunged and it appeared that Wall Street suddenly became concerned about the \$200 billion annual deficits. So adverse was the reaction that Mr. Volcker took pains on Thursday to note that his comments had been "a little blown up" and that markets had overreacted.

But Mr. Volcker's assurances seemed of little comfort to investors. The stock market recovered slightly on Friday, but finished one of its worst weeks in years, some 36 points lower at 1,160.70. Interest rates rose sharply, with the Government's 30-year bonds ending the week yielding 11.92 percent. And on Friday, the Fed announced that M-1, the basic meas-



Paul A. Volcker

ure of the money supply, had risen \$3 billion in the latest reporting week. The rise had been anticipated and the market stayed calm.

Inflation's spectre reappeared in January, as the Government's Producer Price Index rose six-tenths of 1 percent for the month. The rise was due primarily to a 2.6 percent rise in food prices, brought on by severe cold weather in Florida and other parts of the country.

P.C. Blues. With \$100 million in out-

### The New York Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED FEBRUARY 10, 1984

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

IBM 10,720,800 109% - 1/2

AT&T 9,198,900 17 - 1/2

G Mot 7,017,800 69% + 1/2

AT&T 6,962,300 63% - 2

Mer Ly 6,379,800 26 - 1/2

Par Am 5,287,700 7% - 1/2

For M 4,897,200 37% - 1/2

Gulf Cp 4,840,900 57 + 1/2

Exxon 4,820,100 36% - 1/2

Hou NG 4,583,300 52% - 7/8

Chryslr 4,572,600 29% - 1/2

Sears 4,269,100 35% - 1/2

N Semi 4,204,100 13% - 1/2

SL Regis 4,165,900 40 + 5/8

LIL Co 4,135,400 8% - 2/8

MARKET DIARY

Advances 480

Declines 1,607

Total Issues 2,253

New Highs 19

New Lows 219

VOLUME

(P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales 533,988,480

Same Per. 1983 427,357,913

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Index 108.7 103.2 104.8 -3.30

Transp 88.6 84.9 86.1 -3.28

Util 47.1 45.7 45.7 -1.68

Finance 92.0 88.9 89.6 -2.99

Compo 92.0 89.1 90.0 -2.91

#### Standard & Poor's

400 Indust 185.2 173.3 175.2 -5.61

20 Trnspt 142.2 135.5 135.5 -3.78

40 Util 69.0 65.0 65.2 -2.77

40 Financial 17.7 17.0 17.7 -0.42

500 Stocks 160.9 154.3 155.3 -6.61

Dow Jones

30 Indust 119.1 115.6 115.6 -35.33

20 Trnspt 535.4 504.5 504.5 -20.82

15 Util 132.2 126.1 127.1 -4.72

85 Comp 472.0 449.9 449.9 -15.84

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED FEB. 10, 1984

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

WangB 1,325,500 28 -

TIE 1,108,100 19% -

Vrbtm 1,378,100 12% - 1/2

Pollaw 1,335,800 5 - 2/8

Domep 1,310,100 3-7/16 + 1/2

DorGas 1,282,000 20% - 1/2

Amdhl 768,600 15% - 1/2

KeyPh 619,400 16% + 1/2

InstSy 590,800 3% - 1/2

EchoB 563,500 7% - 1/2

MARKET DIARY

Advances 152

Declines 688

Total Issues 912

New Highs 8

New Lows 43

VOLUME

(P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales 38,559,420

Same Per. 1983 38,431,015



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1983

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher  
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor  
SEYMOUR TOWSE, Managing Editor  
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor  
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor  
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor  
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor  
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor  
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor  
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager  
LANCE R. PRIMIS, Sr. V.P., Advertising  
J. A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations  
HOWARD BISHOP, V.P., Employee Relations  
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, V.P., Circulation  
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller  
ELINE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

## To Whom It May Concern

Congratulations on your selection as Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party. Despite our inevitable pretenses in the coming days, we don't know anything about you, and the chances are you don't know much about us. Yet here we are, each other's most formidable problem. May you be calm and wise in handling it.

There's no such thing as a new beginning in the life of nations, not even through revolution. Jimmy Carter began his Presidency as a dove on communism but wound up a confused hawk. Ronald Reagan began as a screeching hawk but has become a wobbly duck. These election-year conversions of our leaders reveal the real center of gravity in American opinion. If your selection, too, prompts some reassessments, perhaps both Governments can now refocus on their true interests and attitudes.

Surely nothing we want from each other justifies the costs and dangers our rivalries impose on the world. Resentments left by the crude division of Europe after World War II remain. But we have both been forced to accept that division and have fortified it in cultural, economic, diplomatic and military ways. Paradoxically, the main dangers are elsewhere, where the stakes are smaller.

But it is hard to believe that either nation would ever start a nuclear war to challenge or protect a transitory influence in Damascus or Managua. Americans might fight to keep you out of the Persian Gulf and you might fight to keep us from liberating Afghanistan. But you have held sway in oil-rich Iraq while we held sway in your neighbor Iran. You have had your innings in Egypt; now we have ours. If this rivalry were only a case of two giants foraging the globe for marginal advantage, we could feel effectively deterred by nuclear weapons and relatively secure.

## Bus Safety vs. Bus Pain

Bravo to David Gunn, the new head of the New York City Transit Authority, for clearing all the rest of the Grumman Flexibles off the streets. The city is now making do without any of the 851 it acquired in 1980. They were built to specifications of the U.S. Department of Transportation and largely paid for by the Federal Government. Designed for fuel economy, they looked good, and it was no easy matter to inconvenience riders yet again.

When the Federal Government drew up the performance standards for mass transit buses, oil was in short supply and gasoline prices were headed sharply upward. The Government wanted lighter buses, requiring less fuel, but did not specify how manufacturers should meet the goal. General Motors, following traditional designs, built a bus more suited for heavy duty in places like New York (though even its engines apparently are imperfect).

Grumman claims its Flexibles perform satisfactorily elsewhere, where service demands are not so strenuous. In New York, their front axles are cracking, their rear wheel suspensions are giving trouble

That is not, however, how we see each other.

You complain that after 67 years of communism and despite your formidable military strength, Americans do not accept the Soviet Union as an equal. You fear that we still want to overthrow communism everywhere, even in Moscow. You say you must therefore amass counterstrength to push our influence ever farther from your frontier, and yours ever closer to ours.

We, in turn, do see communist regimes as illegitimate and malevolent, weakly rooted in any popular will, mistrustful of their own people and threatened by democratic societies. We feel that such an insecure system is inherently intolerant of diversity, defensive to the point of aggression and requiring containment.

The military competition that results from this tension obviously magnifies it and produces its own suspicions and conflicts. But if we had to explain the essence of our competition to our grandchildren, we would surely point not to weapons or bread or land or even incompatible views of freedom. We would point to fears so deep that we actually take comfort from each other's failures — unemployment here, a bad harvest there — even if we derive no conceivable benefit from them.

Perhaps, as you assume your new burden, you will sense that to lead the Soviet Union or the United States today is to lead a bureaucracy of fear.

Perhaps you will recognize, as our leaders are periodically forced to recognize, that safety ultimately depends not just on prudence in our daily conduct but on a farsighted diplomacy leading to the control and reduction of arms.

And perhaps you will come to understand that the fears that obstruct diplomacy will finally be dispelled only through constant communication, mutual acts of trust and an occasional anti-bureaucratic leap of faith.

and the structural body frames may be popping rivets — which might, in turn, result in popping windows.

The Transit Authority's repair and maintenance practices have already depressed Mr. Gunn. To keep 3,200 buses on the streets, it needs a fleet of 4,000. Removing the Flexibles is bound to cause overcrowding and delays. Riders, bruised by past discomforts, will not take further inconvenience quietly. It would be a mistake, however, to focus entirely on the manufacturer or on the money. Whatever responsibility Grumman bears, it remains true that New York's streets are punishing and that the Federal Government pushed lightweight buses for heavy-duty jobs.

The authority may well wish to assert its claims against Grumman before the bus warranties expire. But its first concern, rightly, is safety. There's no way to prove that Mr. Gunn's prompt decision to sideline the Flexibles will prevent accidents, and it's certain that his decision will cause inconvenience. But he's right.

## Handkerchiefs

Do you carry a handkerchief? The question is not meant as a challenge, only an inquiry into what seems to be a genuine generation gap.

We're not talking about a display handkerchief folded neatly into a suit coat pocket or a lacy little thing tucked into a party purse. We mean a serious handkerchief, the kind you blow your nose in, or clean your glasses with or wipe off the lipstick with after a kiss from your aunt.

If you're over 35, chances are you do carry a handkerchief. You may even think it's crude not to. But if you're under 35, you cringe at the idea. Sometime in the last two decades, there's been a pronounced change in handkerchief protocol.

"My mother used to say," recalls a 48-year-old man we know, "that you weren't well brought up unless you took a clean handkerchief every day. So every year, I buy another dozen — hand-rolled, Irish linen — and every day I shake open a clean one and put it in my pocket. But when my son sees that, he makes coarse comments about a snoot rag. My daughter, echoing the Kleenex slogan, says 'It's disgusting to put a cold in your pocket.'"

Observe the generational transformation: To a mother, use of a handkerchief marks good manners. To a daughter, it's an old-fashioned, unsanitary habit. What has changed?

The obvious answer is technology. Until facial tissues were invented, the best one could do was to have a clean handkerchief for each day. With tissues, one could have a clean one for each use. There's also a sociological explanation. Synthetic fibers being less absorbent, a satisfactory handkerchief almost has to be made of linen. Linen, being linen, has to be ironed. That must be why so many women have taken jobs outside the home.

Yet many people still carry handkerchiefs. The world remains divided, half blow, half show. Actually, according to the people at Paul Stuart, among men it's more like 75 percent show. Among women, the show proportion may be higher because some women have it both ways. For a tissue, they can always reach inside their purse. When there's occasion for a handkerchief — say a movie like "Terms of Endearment" — they can ask the man they're with for his. If he's over 35.

## Topics

### Free Spirits

#### Doctor's Nerve

Dr. Peter Gott is a Connecticut physician who comments irreverently, even caustically, about his profession in a Lakeville newspaper column.

When the column began appearing recently in a Poughkeepsie, N.Y., paper, some Dutchess County doctors took offense. The head of their medical society asked Dr. Gott's to consider disciplinary action.

It was a silly overreaction, which suggests Dr. Gott struck a nerve. Doctors are acutely aware that their reputation can cost money as well as pride. The exorbitant costs of their malpractice insurance have much to do with public resentment of their

fees, which leads juries to award huge settlements to victims of malpractice.

What, then, best serves the doctor's image? Tolerance of a colleague willing to criticize his peers for arrogance and insensitivity? Or a paranoid attempt to censor him?

Let the Dutchess doctors ponder those questions — and remember that in the end, the juries will decide.

#### Stick With Macaroni

In 1972 Connecticut's governor picked its first state song: "The Green Hills of My Connecticut." Though unsingable, it lasted until

1978, when the General Assembly substituted "Yankee Doodle."

Some considered that an insult: The song portrays Yankees as rubes who stick feathers in hats and call them macaroni. A sixth-grader wrote that it's as if the state motto were "home of the fools and land of the dingbats." An Assembly committee is considering new songs.

Granted, "Yankee Doodle," an old British Army tune, mocked the colonials. But they adopted it as their own, and played it at Yorktown. It perfectly expressed America's jaunty free spirit. We salute Connecticut's good sense in adopting it six years ago. Besides, everyone knows the tune.

## Letters

### Business Leaders' Peculiar Presidential Preference

To the Editor:

While history is replete with examples of how shortsighted business leaders can be, it is nevertheless surprising when members of the business community are myopic about the one thing on which they are supposed to be experts: their wallets.

At the same time that nearly every reputable economist is warning about the paramount danger to our economy of high Federal deficits, many business leaders are expressing an irrational pleasure that Ronald Reagan is seeking a second term ("Wall Street Relief on Reagan," Business Day Jan. 31).

The folly of this position is laid bare by the fact that President Reagan is, by every indication, the candidate least likely to (1) encourage reductions in the fattest part of the Federal budget, defense, and (2) apply reasoned judgment to the question of whether taxes might need to be raised at some future date (given that his supply-side panacea has only worsened the problem).

No doubt business leaders have learned to think affectionately of the President for helping ease corporate tax burdens. Also, the business community rightly should have doubts, in light of their past record, as to whether the Democrats would make good on their plans to reduce deficits.

But banking on a candidate with a plan surely is a better bet than banking on a candidate without one, and President Reagan has no plan for reducing deficits. Nor has he the capacity to develop one. Like Herbert Hoover some 50 years ago, the President's vision is clouded with obsolete notions about how things are supposed to be and cannot discern how they are.

Whatever good President Reagan's economic policies may have done in

the past, Candidate Reagan's stance on issues affecting the deficits makes bad economic sense. If they do no more than vote their economic inter-



Jugoslav Vlahovic

ests in 1984, America's business leaders should first take a long, hard look at what "staying the course" will mean.

WIN SWENSON

New York, Feb. 2, 1984

### To Cut Deficit Interest

To the Editor:

In a Jan. 28 editorial, you say that "when President Reagan's agents start negotiating with Congress for a 'down payment' on deficit reduction, there is one large item they can't touch — interest on the debt compiled by deficits."

There is, however, an avenue still open to cut the interest on outstanding debt: inviting tenders by holders of longer-term bonds, now yielding over 11½ percent, to exchange them for bonds with a stable purchasing power

guarantee, yielding perhaps 6 percent.

Let the experts determine whether the yield on the exchange offer should be somewhat larger or smaller to attract the greatest number of holders. Investors fearing long-term inflation would be likely to seize the opportunity to protect their purchasing power. The Government, on the other hand, would benefit immediately from lower interest charges as long as the inflation rate remains in the ball park, and would have an added incentive to reduce inflation further.

LASZLO BERGER

New York, Jan. 31, 1984

### The Load Per Capita

To the Editor:

It is difficult for most of us to comprehend the magnitude of Federal spending or the implications of a \$200 billion budget deficit, but they are staggering.

One way to help us understand is to put the figures into per-capita terms. Thus, when Congress appropriates \$200 million, it is spending almost one dollar for every American adult. Looked at in such terms, many expenditures might seem not so worthwhile.

And this year's Federal deficit will equal roughly \$1,000 for every American. Congress is committing us to paying compound interest on that sum in perpetuity. Next year, every citizen will have to pay \$100 in taxes to pay the interest on this year's deficit, the following year \$110, plus \$100 more for the 1985 deficit, and so on, assuming that interest rates stay at 10 percent. Those numbers — and their implications for people's willingness to pay them — get pretty scary pretty fast.

PETER VANDERWICKEN

New York, Feb. 2, 1984

### A Steel Merger Worth Blocking

To the Editor:

For the last 20 years, I have opposed the Justice Department's policy of preventing large steel companies

from merging, but I must speak out against the proposed merger of U.S. Steel and the National Steel Corporation. If our steel industry is ever to become strong and competitive again, this merger should be blocked.

U.S.S., through 30 years of lackadaisical management (not necessarily including the present management), has seen its dominant position in the steel industry erode away. During its period of leadership, it took the industry down the path of technological obsolescence. One had only to be as good as U.S.S. to stay in business, and U.S.S. did not set a very fast pace. No one dared challenge this leadership because of the corporation's market dominance and enormous financial strength.

Any steel company in the United States should be allowed to merge, except two: U.S. Steel and Bethlehem Steel.

The American steel industry produced approximately 120 million tons of steel in its last peak year. The optimum-size plant is somewhere between 8 and 10 million tons. This would, in a rough sort of way, indicate there is room for about eight efficient, major, integrated steel companies (only about six if foreign producers are conceded permanently their present share of the market).

U.S. Steel has the financial resources, as it has amply demonstrated, to become an efficient steel producer without eliminating another competitor. It can lead the American industry back to its former preeminence, but the proposed merger is not the way.

RICHARD S. THORN  
Professor of Economics  
University of Pittsburgh  
Pittsburgh, Feb. 3, 1984

### Arms Pact Violations That Must Be Aired

To the Editor:

Errors in your Feb. 5 editorial about violations of arms control treaties begin with the title, "Laundry List Diplomacy."

The Administration's report on Soviet compliance with arms control commitments focused on seven serious issues spanning a number of agreements and obligations, including incidents reaching back half a decade. Seven carefully selected items in this large subject area do not, I submit, reflect laundry list diplomacy.

You lay the blame for initiating this list squarely with the Administration and do not mention that a compliance report was required by the Congress, after a 99-0 Senate vote on the subject.

Even more curious is your implication that reviewing and documenting arms control violations is a "more serious offense than committing such violations" — that investigators are more culpable than perpetrators. And you go so far as to compare the scrupulously documented U.S. accusations to the vapid Soviet propaganda list.

You are simply wrong in asserting that the Reagan Administration refused until recently to raise SALT

II compliance issues in the proper U.S.-Soviet channel, the Standing Consultative Commission. We have been discussing such issues in that committee for well over a year now.

The Soviets have been asked at great length about our concerns, but their responses have done little to resolve these important issues. Last summer, the United States asked for a special committee session to deal with one of the SALT II issues, a request the Soviets refused.

Perhaps most distressing is your conclusion that such information and disclosure is not consistent with "a more serious effort to negotiate arms control."

The Administration's closed briefings and public statements have been straightforward and factual, with no hype and certainly no "public clamoring." Quiet discussions are important and will continue to be pursued. But we cannot, as you seem to think, sweep these issues under the diplomatic rug. The Congress and the American people deserve better.

KENNETH L. ADELMAN  
Director, U.S. Arms Control  
and Disarmament Agency  
Washington, Feb. 7, 1984

### The Young Physicists Who Would Be 'Pawns'

To the Editor:

As a physicist, I had a special interest in "The Young Physicists: Atoms and Patriotism Amid the Coke Bottles" (Science Times Jan. 31). It is exciting to read that these daring young men can be so totally absorbed in what is essentially an intellectual pursuit, independent of the allure of money.

Yet, completely independent of my political beliefs, I am dismayed that they could allow themselves to be employed as such potentially consequen-

tial pawns without a more sensitive and thorough knowledge of the problem they supposedly are solving.

Their simplistic technocratic views are symptomatic of an education that left them unexposed to much significant social and political discourse. This reinforces my belief that contemporary universities must emphasize a well-rounded education, not mere technical proficiency.

ROBERT A. M. KAMMERER  
West Hempstead, L.I., Feb. 1, 1984

### Access Charge: \$2 Now or Perhaps a 'Lot More Down the Line'

To the Editor:

Even though action in the U.S. Senate seems to have muted, for the time being at least, further legislative debate on the subject of telephone access charges, I think there is still a need to set things straight in the public record.

Specifically, there is a need to correct some impressions left by Jeffrey A. Lemieux, a St. Louis University student, who attacked the need for access charges (Op-Ed Jan. 24).

It is Mr. Lemieux's belief that they are the product of A.T. & T.'s post-divestiture strategies and that, moreover, they are an unwarranted burden on the everyday phone user. In both cases, Mr. Lemieux is as far from the facts as St. Louis is from Washington, where discussion and formulation of access charges has been going on in the Federal Communications Commission for a number of years.

Those discussions long predate the reorganization of the Bell System, and were prompted by the realization that as the telecommunications market became more competitive, something had to be done about the way services were being priced.

So it is competition, not divestiture, which produced the concept of access charges. And as far as justification is concerned, even those in Congress who fought the F.C.C.

order have conceded the need for some mechanism to replace the subsidy from long-distance revenues that now meets local service costs.

A.T. & T. certainly supports the access charge concept as that replacement. So do many top economists, editorial writers and opinion leaders who accept the basic rule of competitive pricing: You charge the customer an amount that reflects the costs of providing him your product or service.

A number of national economists, during the Congressional debate, had urged those views on the White House and members of Congress. The chief point they made was that as long-distance subsidies continue, long-distance users will find it more economical to build their own long-distance communications systems; they will desert the national network, leaving larger shares of its fixed costs for residences and small businesses to pick up.

Those customers are the people who are being asked in the access

charge order to pay \$2 a month now and \$4 by 1990. What this seems to boil down to, in plain English, is that if they don't pay the \$2 now, they may be paying a lot more down the line.

In fact, a study by Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates went a step further than everyday telephone customers in the consideration of the impact of access charges. It found that, together with parallel long-distance rate reductions proposed by A.T. & T., access charges will have an enhancing effect on the overall national economy by reducing business communications expenses, improving productivity and encouraging expansion and growth.

Amid the current confusion on the telecommunications scene, one thing is abundantly clear to most who have analyzed the issues: The Federal Communications Commission's access charge order is a necessary first step into the industry's new competitive world.

W. M. ELLINGHAUS  
President, A.T. & T.  
New York, Jan. 31, 1984



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## ABROAD AT HOME

## After Andropov

By Anthony Lewis

Then there is the affirmative possibility of signals: actions that may not themselves constitute a change in international policy but that suggest a desire to do diplomatic business. Here I think the crucial need now is for each side to signal a degree of respect for the other's concerns.

On the Soviet side, one human gesture would have a great effect on opinion in America and elsewhere in the West. That is to ease up on the repression of dissidents. The potent symbolic step would be to release the three most prominent victims of the repression: Andrei Sakharov, Yuri

Orlov and Anatoly Shcharansky. Andrei Sakharov, the great physicist exiled to Gorky and harassed there by the K.G.B., wrote a letter to scientific colleagues in the Soviet Union and abroad that is published in the current New York Review of Books. It is a heart-rending document.

The Sakharov letter appeals for help in getting the Soviet authorities to let his wife, Elena Bonner, go abroad for medical treatment. She has had several heart attacks and has no way of getting proper care. In a further message dated Jan. 12, Mr. Sakharov said: "Only a trip to re-

ceive medical treatment abroad can save her life, and mine as well, since her death would mean my death."

Yuri Orlov, another physicist, was arrested seven years ago for setting up a committee to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki agreements. He has reportedly been treated with special harshness in a labor camp at Perm. He was due for release from there this past Friday — but some experts fear that his term will be extended.

Anatoly Shcharansky, an activist in both the human rights and Jewish emigration movements, has been in prison in Chistopol for nearly six years now. His mother saw him on Jan. 5 and said he was in severe pain from a heart condition and so emaciated that he was "unrecognizable."

Soviet leaders evidently do not understand what a terrible impact such cases have in the West — have specifically on the possibilities for negotiation. But there is an American failure of understanding, too. That is Presi-

dent Reagan's inability, if it is that, to appreciate the effect he creates in the Soviet Union by his bellicose and insulting rhetoric.

Malcolm Toon, U.S. Ambassador in Moscow from 1976 to 1979, is known for taking a tough line toward the Soviets. But when I talked with him after Mr. Andropov's death, he said essential business cannot be done with them if American rhetoric makes them think our aim is their destruction.

"For us as concerned Americans," Mr. Toon said, "the important question is which is the real Reagan: the guy who made the awful 'evil empire' speech in Orlando? Or the one who made the speech in the White House last month, helpful but long overdue? Frankly, I don't know which. And I think the Russians are confused — they don't really know if he's out to do them in."

William Safire's column now appears every Monday and Friday.

## Withdraw Decently From Lebanon

By Fouad Ajami

We should not be covering up our withdrawal from Lebanon with a new demonstration of our might. The artillery fire of American battleships will not enhance what prospects, if any, remain for the regime of President Amin Gemayel. It will only deplete the political and moral capital that we will need if we are to play an effective role in the next phase of the Lebanese crisis.

It was a sense of guilt that took us into Lebanon in the first place — guilt for the "green light" we gave for the Israeli invasion and for the carnage that followed. Now that so many of our delusions about "the new order" that Israel hoped to create in Lebanon have collapsed, we should have the wisdom of a decent withdrawal. We must not imagine that the shelling of Shiite alleyways in Beirut and Druze villages in the Shuf Mountains will be seen as anything but the fireworks of a frustrated power.

By leaving the Marines on the ground in Lebanon, we allowed ourselves to be dragged into the feuds of the place and sullied by its ways. We were unwilling to provide enough military power to enable Amin Gemayel's Phalangist Government to impose its dominion on an unwieldy land. We managed only to alienate his rivals — the Druze and Shiite communities that we are shelling today. The distant superpower that came to offer help and help became just another protagonist in the tribal war.

Then, last weekend, with the seizure of West Beirut, we were left off the hook. Amin Gemayel's stark failure to go beyond his own partisan origins and outlook combined with the military victory of the Shites and the Druze to deliver us from our own mistakes — the mistakes of the past 18 months.

For a brief moment, America's vanquished Phalangist clients will accuse us of treason and abdication. The United States has failed to give them back the country they once dominated. Yet another outside pe-

riety to take on the Moslems, to bring in the Israelis and then the Americans in a new quest for hegemony in Lebanon. But the defeat of the Phalangists may create new opportunities. In a possibly more tolerant climate, other Maronites may step forth.

The United States should heed their advice and help in any way it can. We must make clear to the Maronites that we can offer no magic solutions. Whether the Maronites like it or not, Lebanon must learn to deal with the Arab world around it. It has no other option. A distant power cannot annul geography or change the hard facts of economics. Lebanon remains, for all the pretensions of some of its people, a dependent piece of the Arab world. An outside power must resist the temptation to indulge the delusions of men who want to stand apart from their own world.

Yet the United States can play a role in the internal politics of Lebanon. Above all, we can help whatever Government emerges in Beirut to come to terms with Syria. How? Certainly not by shelling Syrian positions. First, we must recognize that much of Syria's leverage, particularly its influence among Druze and Shites, is a result of our own policies — our support for the hated Phalangists and for the May 17 Israeli-Lebanese withdrawal accord. Then, we must make clear to the Syrians that we do not support their military adventures in Lebanon.

The Syrians, like the Israelis before them, may find that they have overestimated their ability to manipulate Lebanese politics. Israel's first allies, the Maronites, wanted Israel's muscle but not its embrace — for in the end even they know that their country depends on its economic links to the Arab world. Disappointed, Israel tried to hedge its bets by turning to the Shites in southern Lebanon — and was disappointed again when it turned out that the Shites would neither submit nor trust Israel's intentions. In the long run, Syria may have much the same experience.

Syria, too, was once the patron of the Maronites. In 1976, it was the Maronites who asked the Syrians to intervene to help them fight Lebanese leftists and Palestinians. In the more recent cycle of events, Syria has derived its power from the fears of the Shites and Druze — fears that the Phalangists have secured an Israeli and then an American guarantee for their dominion. Now that the tide has shifted again, the Syrians may well turn back to their former allies, the Maronites. This makes it imperative for the United States to keep open its channels of communication with the Shites and the Druze.

But above all, the United States must recognize that the May 17 accord is a dead letter. This misguided agreement was dictated by Israeli needs and brokered by the United States. The Israeli Government that invaded Lebanon needed an agreement in order to withdraw — to justify the costs of the war and defuse the dissent at home. A vulnerable Christian-led Government in Beirut acquiesced in the accord despite opposition by Lebanese Moslems and other Arab states who found the agreement humiliating. To them, it seemed to cede sovereignty over several, mostly Shiite, parts of the country to the Israelis.

The bitter irony is that it also vastly increased Syrian leverage. By tying Israeli withdrawal to a Syrian pull-out, it gave Damascus the power to veto any peace settlement. At the time, we assumed that Syria was looking for a way out of Lebanon. Now, we know better.

Even in the best of circumstances, the Phalangist Government would have had a rough going. The burdens that the Israelis and the Americans placed on it with the conclusion of the May 17 accord were far too much for it to bear. If the Israelis and the Americans are genuinely interested in restoring a measure of stability in Lebanon and checking Syrian influence there, they must recognize that no Lebanese Government can sell that accord at home or defend it in the Arab councils of power.

Lebanon has long been a land of deadly myths and delusions, of great fear masquerading as power and righteousness. We cannot still those old fears, but we can try to be an honest broker in a land of rival claims. We should offer it our better judgment and compassion and leave our bluster at home. Surely we have something to offer other than the firepower of our battleships.

Fouad Ajami is director of Middle East studies at the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University and author of "The Arab Predicament."



Max Ernst

## Women vs. Reagan

By Bella Abzug and Mimi Kalber

Will Ronald Reagan, central casting's gift to the media, win an electoral Oscar from the voters next November? Before accepting the conventional wisdom that Mr. Reagan is unbeatable, political prophets should consider strong evidence that the President is worse off with the electorate — and women particularly — than he was four years ago.

Rather than just another special-interest group, women are the biggest eligible voting group in the nation (53 percent); in 1980, six million more women than men voted, and in 1984 they may outnumber male voters by more than nine million.

Last year, Mr. Reagan's campaign director, Edward J. Rollins, warned that "the political party that gets the women's vote will be the majority."

Bella Abzug and Mimi Kalber are authors of "Gender Gap, Bella Abzug's Guide to Political Power for American Women."

party, while the party of men will be the minority." Mr. Reagan received only 21 million votes from women in 1980, while Jimmy Carter and John B. Anderson got 25 million. In the last three years, President Reagan has so successfully alienated millions of women from all walks of life that he will most likely get an even lower total in 1984.

The President is threatened not only by intensive voter registration drives by major organizations of women, blacks, minorities and labor but also by the loss of significant support from two female groups that were among his mainstay in 1980: Republican women and older women. In 1980, when there was an 8 percent gender gap between Republican men

and women voters, 13 percent of the women defected; last June, a New York Times/CBS News Poll showed a startling 24 percent gender gap on the question of whether Mr. Reagan deserves another term. And last June, a Republican poll that found that "every subgroup of women is more negative towards President Reagan than their male counterparts" cited older women, those over age 55, as among the most negative. This switch can be traced to fears raised by Mr. Reagan's attempt to tamper with Social Security and the one-year freeze of cost-of-living increases in Social Security benefits.

The President's efforts to bridge the widening gender gap have been largely cosmetic, callous and uncon-

vincing. In that great gush of syrupy platitudes that served as his report on the State of the Union, Mr. Reagan cited Barbara Proctor, a black business woman "who rose from a ghetto to build a multimillion dollar advertising agency in Chicago," to assure women that they too could become Harriet Algers. In an interview the next morning, Mrs. Proctor said she shared the President's spiritual values but attributed her success to affirmative action and Federal loans, both favorite targets of the Reagan Administration.

Mrs. Proctor's prosperity is typical neither of black nor white women. Only one percent of American women earn more than \$25,000; three out of five working women earn less than \$10,000; and the wage gap for black women is 54 cents on the dollar and 49 cents for Hispanic women — if they are fortunate enough to have jobs.

Behind Mr. Reagan's "nice guy" image and talk of old-fashioned family values is a tough reactionary who wants to keep women in their low-paid economic ghetto and dump kids from school lunch programs. Most revealing of his motives is his Administration's plan to challenge a Federal court decision ordering the State of Washington to pay an estimated \$642 million in back pay and \$195 million in raises to female state employees who were paid less than men in jobs of comparable worth.

For Mr. Reagan to win a majority of the women's vote, he would have to stop picking their pockets and stop being himself. By significant majorities, women favor genuine peace initiatives, the nuclear freeze, cuts in military spending, an end to armed intervention in Lebanon and Central America, enforced environmental protection, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, family planning, equity in the job market and pay envelope and more Government spending for social programs, child care, education and other human services. The President's record and continuing actions place him in direct opposition to the political agenda of modern American women.

According to our projections, Mr. Reagan will need 59.3 percent of the male vote to win in 1984, compared with the 54 percent he received in 1980. He will need about 65 percent of the votes of white males. The 49 percent support he received from blue-collar males and the 47 percent support from male unionists in 1980 is not likely to be increased or even duplicated in 1984 — not with more than nine million Americans still unemployed.

The President has a big problem with women and with male voters hurt by Reaganomics. He can be defeated.

## Poor Record on Arms

By Herbert Scoville Jr.

negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty even though these talks had been supported by every Republican and Democratic President since Dwight D. Eisenhower. The need to do more nuclear testing was cited as the reason for putting off the talks.

He sent the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaties, signed by Presidents Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford, back to Moscow for revision.

He refused to resume discussion on limiting anti-satellite weapons and instead moved with high priority to begin testing an advanced weapons system for destroying Soviet space vehicles.

He proposed vast and expensive programs for ballistic missile defense systems, which could require abrogation of the Anti-Ballistic Mis-

begin, the Russians have predictably broken off negotiations and begun to pursue an equally misguided course — deploying more missiles aimed at Western Europe. The only ray of light in these talks was the so-called walk-in-the-woods of Mr. Nitze and his counterpart, Yuri Kvitsinsky, in which the chief American negotiator privately offered to postpone deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles. Yet, in the aftermath of this unofficial move, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Eugene V. Rostow, was forced to resign for his "overzealousness."

The Administration has been required to modify its original proposal several times under Western European pressure, yet it still has not faced up, even implicitly, to the real roadblock in these negotiations — the

date has been set for their resumption. In this case, too, our initial negotiating position was clearly unacceptable — and would have decreased American security had it been accepted. Its primary weakness — that it would have increased the vulnerability of the weapons by which both the Americans and Russians deter a first strike and thus would have made a nuclear war more likely — was recognized by the bipartisan commission on the MX missile. The American position was subsequently modified, but as long as Mr. Reagan insists that the MX and the Trident 2 missiles be the mainstays of the American force, he will be undermining the stability of the nuclear balance.

Now Mr. Rostow has expressed optimism that the Russians will soon return to the table and negotiate seriously. Yet he admits that our proposals, which he recently discussed with President Reagan, are no different from those presented last October and that the Russians have shown little interest in them. In fact, Yuri V. Andropov's death makes it even more unlikely that talks will be resumed.

Mr. Rostow also proclaims that Washington is at last willing to discuss trade-offs of Soviet and American advantages in certain classes of weapons. Such trade-offs are, of course, the essence of any successful arms control negotiations, and yet it is only after three years in office that Mr. Reagan is prepared to discuss such a deal.

Given this record of delayed action, cover-ups and political posturing, it is hardly surprising that the American people are skeptical about the President's seriousness about arms control. The President was successful in getting some glib Congressmen to support the procurement of MX missiles because they did not want to be blamed for his arms control failure. But in the absence of any negotiations, it is unlikely that he will be equally successful in convincing the American people in this election year. This explains his real concern about the suspension of all nuclear weapons talks with Moscow.

## President's public-relations blitz

sile Treaty of 1972, the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 and the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

Negotiations have been used not merely to cover inaction in real arms control but also to justify the procurement of new nuclear war fighting weapons as bargaining chips.

The President's original position at the intermediate-range forces talks — the so-called zero option for eliminating all Soviet nuclear weapons aimed at Europe in exchange for American agreement to forego the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles — was a palpably nonnegotiable, and Administration spokesmen admitted that they expected no encouraging Soviet response until after the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were deployed in Europe.

Now that such deployment has

British and French strategic nuclear weapons aimed at the Soviet Union. It is not surprising for the Soviet Union, the only country in the Eastern bloc with nuclear weapons, to be unwilling to ignore these forces — 162 missiles being modernized with multiple warheads. Only now, when the Russians have broken off the intermediate-range forces talks and removed Mr. Reagan's cover for failure to deal seriously with this problem, has the Administration given even the slightest indication of being willing to merge talks about intermediate-range forces with negotiations about reducing intercontinental weapons — a possible politically acceptable tactic for dealing with this thorny issue.

The strategic arms reduction talks are also headed nowhere — Mr. Rowny's optimism notwithstanding. No

Herbert Scoville Jr., former assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, is president of the Arms Control Association.



# Bill Forsyth Takes a Look Back in Laughter

## Arts & Leisure

By NAN ROBERTSON

After his agent saw a screening of Bill Forsyth's latest film, the man stood up and said, "Thank God. It's not a comedy." Mr. Forsyth agreed. "It's a very sad film," he said, laughing heartily.

This is quite a departure for the shy, 36-year old Scot who wrote and directed "Gregory's Girl" and "Local Hero," and whose first "wee film," "That Sinking Feeling," opens at the Lincoln Plaza on Wednesday. He recently finished shooting his fourth and latest movie, "Comfort and Joy," scheduled to arrive in New York late next fall.

Why the agent and the filmmaker should have been thankful that the latest Forsyth effort has its sad side is a bit of a mystery. Because Bill Forsyth, all by himself, has put Scotland on the map of the world for his funny movies. "Gregory's Girl" won the British Academy Award for best original screenplay, beating out the British-made "Chariots of Fire," which had won an American Oscar. Both "Gregory's Girl" — which critics called "irresistible," among other things — and "Local Hero" have piled up praises and millions of dollars at box offices across the United States. They proved equally popular in Britain.

Mr. Forsyth has become known for his gentle, eccentric humor: sometimes zany, sometimes almost otherworldly, but never neurotic. It permeates his dialogue and pops out in sight gags that have been compared with those of a French comic genius in cinema, Jacques Tati. As in "Small Change" by François Truffaut, another of his heroes, Mr. Forsyth also has a way with children and adolescents.

"That Sinking Feeling," like his second film, "Gregory's Girl," which brought him fame, is about teenagers. It is the story of a band of about a dozen jobless, aimless boys — poor, dotted with acne and with the combined brain wattage of the Three Stooges — who carry out a heist of 93 stainless steel sinks from a plumber's warehouse. The locale is a devastated section of Mr. Forsyth's native Glasgow, in the throes of urban renewal.

The cast is amateur, drawn from a Glasgow youth center where he hung around every Friday night for a year. Slowly he gained their confidence and finally summoned up the courage to confess he wanted to shoot a film around them.

"I wrote the script in three weeks and shot it in 16 millimeter in three weeks in 1979," Mr. Forsyth said in a Scottish burr as thick as thistles, during a recent interview in his New



The Scottish filmmaker's sight gags have been compared with those of Jacques Tati.

York hotel. "It cost about \$10,000." He was here to accept the best screenplay award of 1983 from the New York Film Critics Circle for "Local Hero," his third and by far his most ambitious film, shot in Houston and Scotland at a cost of more than \$3 million.

He was loath to release "That Sinking Feeling" in the United States for several reasons. It was his first stab at feature filmmaking and he felt it might suffer by comparison with the more polished movies that followed but were seen here first. Even though it was one of the liveliest and best-received surprises at the 1979 Edinburgh and London film festivals, "I really didn't think it would travel," he said. "I was reluctant to treat it as a real film — I made it purely for people

At top, Alan Love, Billy Greenlees and Douglas Sannachan in "That Sinking Feeling," the first film made by Bill Forsyth, above, who has won praise for his other films, "Gregory's Girl" and "Local Hero."

in Glasgow and thought I'd just show it to schools and youth clubs."

But his American distributors, who saw "That Sinking Feeling" at the same time as "Gregory's Girl," insisted that his first film would also have trans-Atlantic appeal. "They've been on at me for a couple of years about it," Mr. Forsyth said.

Even with his track record of success, Mr. Forsyth is hardly the picture of self-confidence. He is wont to run himself down and seems to find it

hard to look into the eyes of strangers. The other day in his hotel on Central Park West, he sported a week's growth of stubble ("I'm on holiday, and the thing to do is grow a beard"), baggy gray work trousers and roughly cut, straight black hair that looked as if it had been left out in the rain.

He believes "That Sinking Feeling" was popular in Britain because "it came out of nowhere. All of a sudden there was a Scottish film — nobody

expected it," he said. "If I had been a London filmmaker, I wouldn't have gotten half the attention." In any case, it did attract money to "Gregory's Girl," including funds from the British Film Institute.

"That Sinking Feeling" is replete with the kind of visual and verbal gags that are sprinkled through Mr. Forsyth's later work. At one point, the teen-agers' leader, played by Robert Buchanan, plaintively tells two pals inside a car: "There's got to be something more to life than committing suicide." He has just tried to drown himself in a bowl of his favorite food — cornflakes and milk. The three get out of the car and stroll off, the camera pulls away, and it is revealed that the automobile has no tires and was going nowhere. It is stranded on an ocean of rubble in an empty lot.

The idea of the scene had come to him the night before it was shot, as Mr. Forsyth was driving home and spotted the abandoned car in the desolate Glasgow cityscape. "When I'm making a film, all my antennae are out and I'm very sensitive to everything," he said. "I wanted to capture the sense of the kids' isolation and emptiness. A week earlier I wouldn't have noticed that car. I used to worry about the level of invention. Now I feel quite relaxed and let things happen."

"Sheer familiarity through long exposure" at the youth center made for relaxed relations with the cast. "I wrote the script as we went along, shaping the parts to the people," Mr. Forsyth said. "The kids knew instinctively who was going to play what. That made it feel very comfortable."

So comfortable, in fact, that a half-dozen of the neophyte actors appeared again in "Gregory's Girl," including the star, John Gordon Sinclair, who plays a bit role in "That Sinking Feeling." "Robbie" Buchanan is also featured a second time in "Gregory's Girl" as a boy doomed never to have a date so long as he delivers such immortal openers as, "Did you know that when you sneeze, it comes out your nose 180 miles an hour?"

Mr. Forsyth did not feel at ease with his third feature, "Local Hero," because it took him out of Scotland for a sizable portion of shooting in Texas, and because of its larger scale. He said that his fourth film, "Comfort and Joy," about a Glasgow disk

jockey in his late 20's "who, left on his own for the first time, finds out what his life amounts to," has the more intimate feeling of the first two movies. It was also shot in Mr. Forsyth's home city. "I want to make films in Scotland, and on a small scale," he said. "I feel much more comfortable based in Glasgow."

He was born and raised there, the son of a warehouse manager, in a new town on the city's outskirts that was something like the real-life setting for "Gregory's Girl," 30 miles from Glasgow. He took off in the late 1960's for "swinging London," and was soon unhappy. "I was 20, and it was automatic to fly the nest for a more stimulating world," he said. "I worked as an assistant film editor at the BBC. I was back home within a year. I couldn't make it in London — it was no place to be poor. It quite shocks me now, when I think upon it, how short a time I could survive in London." He has never married, and lives alone.

The man who introduced him to fine films was James Christie, headmaster from 1939 to 1965 at the Knightsbridge School in Glasgow. "We called it the Knightsbridge College of Knowledge," said the movie-maker with a grin. One day, Mr. Christie unexpectedly asked the pupils to march off to the high school assembly hall; the surprise was a screening of Jacques Tati's "Monsieur Hulot's Holiday." The inspired sight gags in that French classic marked Mr. Forsyth forever. "I didn't even mind that it was in black and white and a foreign language — almost all of the fun in it was visual," he said. "I've seen 'Hulot' lots of times since." He later came to admire the work of Truffaut, Buñuel, Godard, Malle, and, among American film directors, Robert Altman.

To Mr. Forsyth's astonishment, his old headmaster wrote him recently after seeing him being interviewed on a British television show. "I had no idea he'd remember me — I didn't have a high profile at school," he said. Mr. Forsyth carried the letter with him to New York, planning to answer it here. He pulled it out to show a visitor, saying, "I haven't seen him for 20 years. I had no idea Christie was a true movie buff."

Among other things, the headmaster wrote that he "intensely and totally enjoyed" his former pupil's films. Mr. Forsyth smiled sheepishly. "It's better than a diploma," he said.

# The Two-Faced Movie And Contemporary Women

By VINCENT CANBY

Teen-angel or succubus? Virgin or whore? Should we continue to put the blame on Mame, boys, and is it true that the devil is a woman?

You might think that after more than half a century, moviemakers — and the people who go to movies — would have become bored by these somewhat less than probing questions, especially since there are now more films that take women seriously than we've had at any time in years, but not at all.

The age-old male fantasy about woman's sexual duplicity appears to have endured unscathed into the age of Women's Liberation. Women may well be making their presences felt more than ever before in business, government, science and the arts, and even as characters in other movies, but there are still producers catering to the delicious male suspicion that within every innocent young thing there exists the soul of a wanton.

One of the more unintentionally hilarious of these is the recent "Angel," whose title character, as the ads truthfully describe her, is a high school honors student by day and a Hollywood hooker by night. In "A Woman in Flames," Robert Van Ackeren's flatfooted German satire, a phenomenally beautiful young university student, played by Gudrun Landgrebe, drops her classes to become an extremely successful and fulfilled prostitute. Last week's ABC Sunday Night Movie, "My Mother's Secret Life," was touted with the ad line, "16 year old Tobl Blake doesn't know that the most wonderful mother in the world... is the most expensive woman in town."

I didn't see that one, but the ads appear to have been designed to make the reader believe that Toni's mother is that heroine beloved of so many porn films: the suburban housewife as a part-time hooker.

What makes these films look so curious and even out-of-date right now is that they exist, side-by-side, with an increasing number of films that at least attempt to take women seriously, even when the films are comedies. Not since the 70's and the success of "An Unmarried Woman," "Julia" and "The Turning Point," among others, has there been such a variety of movies in which the roles of women — as something other than stress — have been predominant.

One of the biggest box-office hits of the season is James L. Brooks's "Terms of Endearment," with its ex-

traordinary performances by Shirley MacLaine and Debra Winger, playing a mother and a daughter coping with each other and with life.

"Terms of Endearment" could hardly be called a feminist handbook. Though the dialogue is bright, the form is neo-soap opera. The most appealing thing about the film is the decency with which it considers the problems of a not especially liberated woman, the pushy, opinionated, well-to-do widow, Aurora Greenway, played by Miss MacLaine, who has no career, doesn't work and doesn't especially want to, and whose entire existence has been wrapped up in her one child.

Yet "Terms of Endearment" is surprisingly affecting in describing the somewhat late self-realization of Aurora when, after years of abstinence, she enters into a hugely satisfying, if ultimately fruitless affair with an over-the-hill astronaut, played to perfection by Jack Nicholson. It's just possible that one of the reasons that "Terms of Endearment" is so popular with the mass audience is because it demonstrates liberation in thoroughly understandable sexual terms.

Far more hip is Mike Nichols's "Silkwood," not because of the controversy surrounding the death of its real-life heroine, Karen Silkwood, but because of the way in which it depicts, without moralizing, how she lived. It would have been unthinkable 20 or maybe even 15 years ago to make a film about such a woman without somehow showing her death to have been inevitable — the wages of her very freely lived life.

"Silkwood" works as socially relevant melodrama, but it's most startling as a glimpse into the unconventional manners of the lower middle class that, in most fiction, is idealized. The sexual lives of Karen (Meryl Streep), her lover, Drew Stephens (Kurt Russell), and her best friend, Dolly Pelliker (Cher), are as cheerfully haphazard as those of the members of a 60's commune. Yet Karen, Drew and Dolly are also extremely ordinary people.

What defines the story as extraordinary — and makes it so moving — is the sight of this imperfect woman, Karen, as she stumbles onto social and political commitment. Miss Streep's Karen Silkwood becomes truly heroic but, in keeping with these muddled times, her heroism never justifies the more or less random sloppiness of the rest of her life. She's one of the most complex and interesting women to be seen on the screen in a long time, certainly since Miss Streep's Oscar-winning performance

in "Sophie's Choice."

Any discussion relating to women and current films must make some reference to Barbra Streisand and her "Yentl," but since "Yentl" is less about women or Woman than about the power of the superstar, it doesn't seem especially significant.

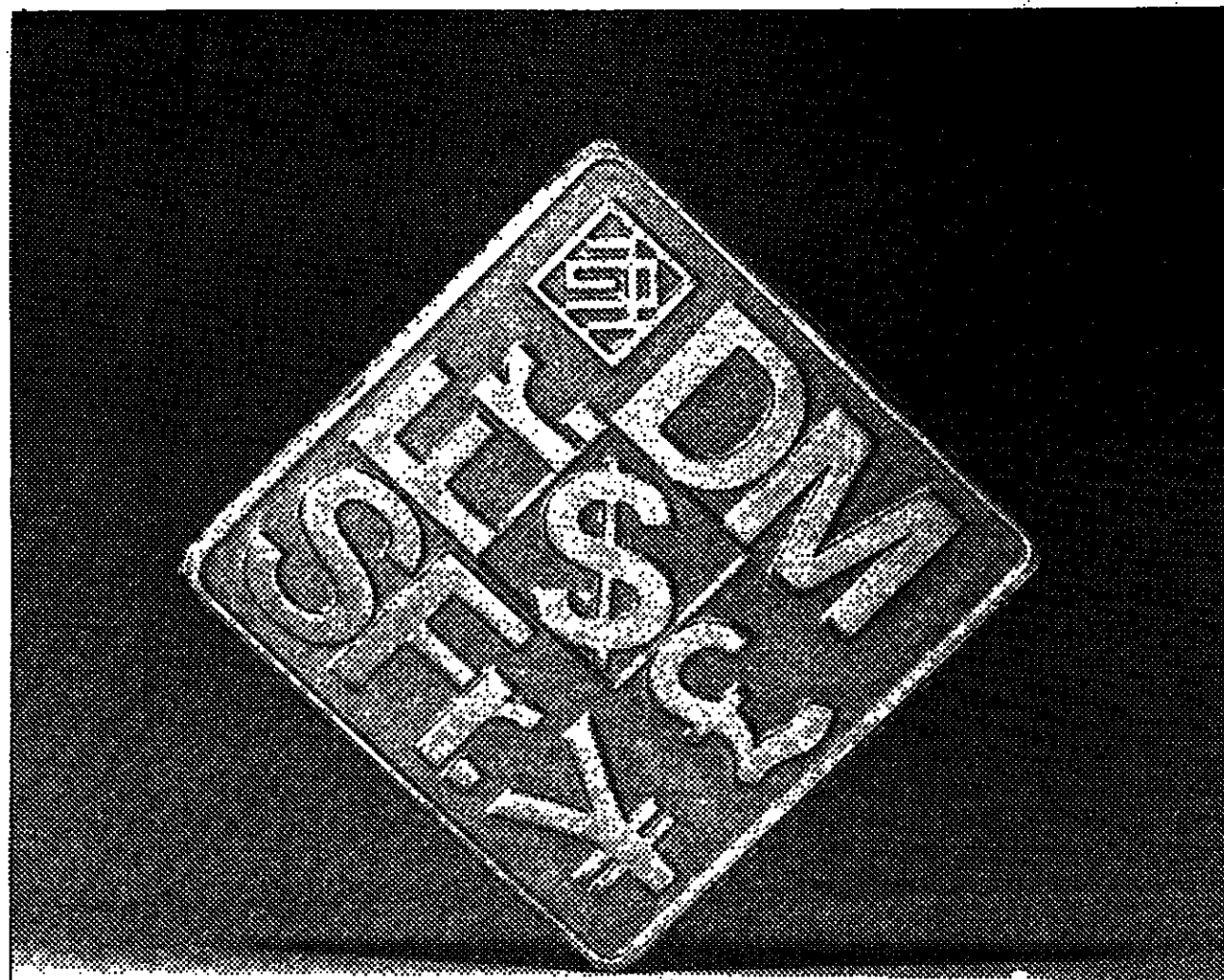
By far the most exciting of these films about women is Diane Kurys's funny, moving, virtually epic new French film, "Entre Nous," which actually is a feminist movie, though one so completely and thoroughly realized that it doesn't for a second appear to be scoring arbitrary points at the expense of men.

"Entre Nous" is a very different kind of movie, beautifully written by Miss Kurys and, though it covers a lot of time and geography, so tightly controlled and dramatically efficient that it seems half as long as it really is.

The film, which opens in 1940, covers approximately 12 years in the lives of two very different sorts of women. They are Lena (Isabelle Huppert), a Belgian-born Jew, married to good-hearted but conventionally insensitive fellow who saved her from a German prison camp during the war, and Madeleine (Miou Miou), a pretty, would-be artist, locked into a loveless marriage with a handsome, feckless would-be actor. The principal setting is Lyons where, in 1952, the two women meet during a grade school pageant.

Neither of Miss Kurys's two earlier films, "Peppermint Soda" and "Cocktail Molotov," hints at the talent that is evident throughout "Entre Nous," which is as much a social history as it is an exploration of an emotional landscape not often seen in movies. The two women are not lesbians, though there are times when each appears to be flirting with the other, not to make a sexual conquest but, in some mysterious fashion, to acknowledge a friendship not certified by less seductive gestures.

Miss Huppert and Miou Miou are individually superb and superbly balanced as characters. I'm also astonished that though the two women are far more interesting characters than their individual husbands and lovers, there is no sense of a put-down. It says something about the measure of Miss Kurys's control of her material that although Michel (Guy Marchand), Lena's husband, is portrayed as something of an unfeeling slob, he's never unsympathetic. That Madeleine's husband, Costa (Jean-Pierre Bacri), is no match for his wife says less about his rather feeble character than it does about the rigorous demands that Madeleine makes on life.



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ITS A LONG way from Rio de Janeiro — and the distance can't be measured in kilometres alone.

For most of the 18 students presently taking part in a special course at the Aish Hatorah yeshiva in the Old City, it is a jump from ignorance about observant Judaism to complete immersion in a religious environment. And it is not a jump that they are willing to make without questions.

The 18, all university students or recent graduates, are pilot members of a trial project which Aish Hatorah hopes will help to stem the tide of Jewish assimilation in Latin America. They were chosen as representatives of those active in the Rio de Janeiro Jewish community.

But even for them, the yeshiva is a very new experience.

"In Brazil the Orthodox have very little contact with youth," said Selmo Leisgold, whose *kippa* perches precariously atop a trendy haircut. "It's the first time I've really spoken to an Orthodox rabbi."

The rabbi, yeshiva head Noah Weinberg, conducts a daily class in Jewish ethics, in English. Knowledge of English was one of the prerequisites for participation in the project.

The Brazilians describe Weinberg's easy-going, steady, complete with little stories geared to appeal to young people, as "North

## Jumping into Judaism

By HAIM SHAPIRO/Jerusalem Post Reporter

American, well-wrapped."

Preparations for the trip began in April, when a free trip to Israel became available for 30 young people. Then, a few months later they heard the trip was off, for want of funds. Finally, a wealthy Brazilian Jew financed the visit for 18 participants.

Those chosen were active in Jewish life, but not necessarily religious life, and knew English. They were also those who, it was felt, could best use their experience to influence others upon their return.

Were any of them pressured into going by their parents? The young men shake their heads, laughing. More than one, it emerges, was pressured by family not to come.

Some have been to Israel before, but in a very different context. Their previous visits had little religious content.

WEINBERG, who says that his yeshiva has already influenced thousands of mainly North Americans who have passed through it, is confident that it can make its mark on Latin Americans, too, if the funds to continue the programme are available. In Israel, the Jewish Agency helps maintain the yeshiva, but the big investment is the air fare.

"When do we say that assimilation is critical?" Weinberg asks rhetorically. "When 99 out of every 100 Jews marry out?" But he is confident that the Jewish heritage has the power to reconnect young people with their destiny.

The problem is especially critical in Latin America, he adds, where the rate of assimilation is far greater than in the U.S. or Britain. At the same time, there is a language barrier, with few competent rabbis

fluent in Spanish and Portuguese. It is for this reason that he is so hopeful about bringing over young people from these countries and sending them back to help others.

THERE ARE differences between these young people and the yeshiva's more usual intake of students from English-speaking countries. On the one hand, the rabbi says, he is very impressed with their maturity and seriousness. It is also interesting to note their intense desire to be proud of their heritage — and their need to be able to answer Christian theological arguments.

On the other hand, he says, they are more easy-going. "They don't feel any need to make decisions," he says, apparently referring to a general unwillingness to make a commitment to be observant.

The students too reflect this. Asked if they have come to any decisions since entering the yeshiva, they answer almost unanimously that decisions, if any, will be made at the end of their stay in Israel. "We have time," says one.

But whatever these young people may do, Aish Hatorah is committed to continuing these programmes. "Dollar for dollar, education for committed adults is the best investment the Jewish community can make," Weinberg says.

NO WATER is better and healthier for all plants than rainwater. It is soft, clean and without chlorine or lime content. Perhaps its most beneficial trait is that it has a neutral pH, that is, it is neither acidic nor alkaline.

These points, of course, were not in the minds of those who found joy in last week's downpour. They were delighted by the sheer wetness of the phenomenon in these dry times. Anyway, those who spoke about a "delayed winter" were shown to be right in their prophecies.

Sooner or later though the harbingers of spring will be felt in the garden, and outdoor work will be resumed in all regions. There are contrasts, with some places benefiting from more long-lasting sunshine than others and so have higher temperatures and earlier bloom. In the cooler hilly areas in the north and around Jerusalem, differences in flowering periods may be observed in a single garden. Plants at the east and the south side, with plenty of sun, bloom about a fortnight earlier than the same species planted in partial shade, with flower beds open to the west and the north.

Whatever the conditions and limitations of your garden, there is always the possibility of growing edibles in various kinds of containers, which may be placed on a balcony or roof. The possibilities may be richer than you might think.

Vegetables and kitchen herbs. In the Coastal Plain, in the Jordan Valley and around the Kinneret, and in all other places with light or medium soil, the following vegetables and herbs may be sown in the open ground during February and early March: potatoes, cucumbers, marrows, kohlrabi, carrots, beetroot, peas, broad beans, spinach, radishes, onions, leeks, parsley, dill, chives, coriander, marjoram, basil, borage, chervil, fennel, garden cress, mustard, savory, thyme, celery and nasturtiums (a lovely addition to salad).

The following edibles may be sown now everywhere in the country in frames or seed boxes under glass or plastic, and then transplanted later into garden beds or containers: lettuce, tomatoes, egg plant and peppers. Seedlings of members of the cabbage family — white and red cabbage, Brussels sprouts, broccoli — may be grown now in regions with light soil.

Flowers. There is still time to plant roses. They are available now in great variety at nurseries and garden centres as bare-rooted, loose plants or come rooted in tins. Rose pruning should be completed in February.

Prepare the ground. Spread manure or compost over the ground surface of empty beds and then turn the soil by deep digging with a garden fork (use a spade in light soil). As you work, turn under all sprouting weeds as "green manure." Dig also under shrubs and trees, especially under old pines, for earthworms. Now, when the soil is moistened by the last strong rains, you'll find plenty of "friends" just under the topsoil.

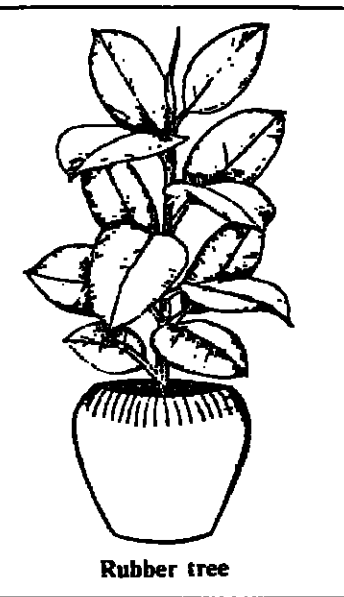
Collect them and put them in your prepared flower and vegetable beds. They'll soon disappear underground and help you to enrich the soil by swallowing and digesting dry leaves and other organic matter. Level the beds with a rake. Only well-prepared ground will provide good results.

Choosing plants. Your next step is to visit a nursery for flower seedlings. Take advantage of the free advice your nurseryman will be ready to offer. Keep in mind the maximum height of the plants you choose to achieve the best show. Tall-growing flowers should go in the background, and low-growing plants in the forefront.

Another landscaping factor is colour contrast. Aim for as much contrast as possible and put flowers together that bloom at the same time. Give your plants plenty of room to give them air and sunlight.

## Spring thoughts

GARDENER'S CORNER  
Walter Frankl



Rubber tree

and they will reward you by a good show of bloom.

It's a good idea to buy spare plants of each species that you choose to make up for those that for some reason or the other (often insect pests) don't succeed. Keep your spares in small tins or pots filled with good garden soil and when you need them, transplant with the whole root ball intact. Should you happily find that you don't need them, they may be transplanted into bigger containers and moved about the garden to achieve decorative effect.

Don't lose a precious opportunity. February or early March is the best time to "stage" your summer garden. Allow space for late-blooming bulbs (this includes tubers, corms, rhizomes) like gladioli, lilies, amaryllis, dahlias, agapanthus and others.

For a very decorative background, try the many species of sunflowers. Many also make good cut flowers. Sunflowers like higher temperatures so wait to sow seed until the real arrival of spring.

Lawns. Though lawns are still dormant, weeds are the first plants

to wake up from winter and if not removed in time will bloom and multiply. Before giving your lawn a first mowing in the spring, do your best to extract weeds with their roots.

House plants. There always seems to be room for a new house plant. Unfortunately one of the reasons for this is the failures that end up in the dustbin after a relatively brief existence. Let us consider some mistakes commonly made in caring for house plants.

A popular plant in Israel is the cultivated cyclamen (*rakefet tarbut* in Hebrew). Florist windows are full of this plant now, flowering in white, pink and red, and there are also bicolorous species. Despite its popularity, not too many people know how to treat this plant, which is highly sensitive to temperature. If kept for some time in a heated room, cyclamen will begin to fade, its leaves will yellow, and the stems droop. Its flowers will wilt and the younger buds will stop growing.

The maximum temperature for a cultivated cyclamen is 15°C, so keep it outdoors or outside on a window sill or balcony and bring it inside only occasionally.

Florists also offer azaleas imported from Europe. Their dark green fleshy leaves and attractive blooms (pink, red, purple or white) made them a best-seller in Israel. (Azalea goes by the same name in Hebrew.) Every week people write me or phone me to ask how they can save a dying azalea.

This plant cannot withstand the high lime content of our tap water and starts to fade and turn yellow after a few weeks unless it has been watered only with rainwater or with distilled water.

The rubber tree (*Ficus elastica*, *ficus hagumi* in Hebrew) is perhaps the most common house plant in this country. Yet few people know that this jungle plant is absolutely dormant in winter. That means nearly no watering and no feeding at all from November until March.

These are only a few hints about house plant care. More will follow. Correction: An unfortunate misprint may have misled readers of my last column. To avoid creating conditions favouring fungus growth on roses, try to water them without wetting the leaves. For rose bushes that sometimes are wet by sprinklers, counteract the danger by frequent spraying or dusting with fungicides.

## Meeting of influential friends

Julius Berman is chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

By JULIUS BERMAN/Special to The Jerusalem Post

THE MISSION to Israel this week of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations comes at a crucial moment in the history of the Middle East and of U.S.-Israel relations.

The military and economic agreements reached last November between Prime Minister Shamir and President Reagan have opened a new era that holds the promise of significant future progress. At the same time, Israel faces deteriorating conditions in Lebanon and an economic situation that demands not only great sacrifices at home but a strong effort by Israel's friends to help the Jewish state move toward economic independence.

These are some of the issues that are on our agenda in the face-to-face talks we are holding with Israeli government officials, Knesset members, opposition leaders, and leaders of the private sector.

The Presidents Conference, as it is popularly known, traces its origin not to any move toward unity within the organized Jewish community but to a request in 1955 from the U.S. State Department. At that time, Henry Byroade, a top assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, let it be known that the secretary would find it more efficient to meet with one representative group that would express the consensus of American Jewish opinion on foreign issues — and particularly Israel — rather than meet separately with representatives of various groups. Byroade indicated that if the Jewish community could not get together in this fashion, the administration would find it very difficult to continue relating to it.

Taking the hint, a group of Jewish

leaders led by Dr. Nahum Goldmann formed an informal "club" of presidents of six or seven large Jewish organizations.

That "club" grew and today the Presidents Conference is composed of 37 secular and religious bodies, representing every stream in Jewish life and speaking on behalf of the overwhelming majority of organized Jewry. There are 72 delegates to this week, 23 of whom are presidents of national Jewish organizations.

WE SEEK to articulate the consensus view of American Jews on the great international issues affecting the security and dignity of our fellow-Jews in Israel, Soviet Russia, Arab countries and other lands. Significantly, in order to strengthen our voice on these critical matters, the conference does not address domestic American issues.

Over the years, the conference's influence as well as its numbers have grown. We are recognized in the American media, in Washington, in Jerusalem, in capitals throughout the world and in the Jewish community, as the voice of American Jewry.

As Jews, all of us hold Israel dear. As Americans, we know the importance of a strong and secure Israel — militarily, economically, and politically — to our country's national interest. As believers in democracy, in liberty and in the survival of the Jewish people, we know how vital it is that America and Israel remain friends and strengthen the alliance that unites them. These are the principles that guide us in shaping our actions.

With 37 organizations as members, it is no easy task to arrive at a consensus on any given issue. Yet we have managed to do it, and I think that this is a tribute to the integrity of the American Jewish community and the nature of its commitment to the Jewish people.

LET ME SPELL out that consensus.

We stand united in support of the people and the State of Israel.

We remain steadfast in our commitment to Israel's security and to its retention of defensible borders. It is our conviction that the government of Israel has the right — indeed, the duty — to protect its people from the terror and hostility that threaten them. And we believe the arrangements for achieving that security must be decided only by the people of Israel, as represented by the democratically-elected government, through direct negotiations with its Arab neighbors.

We oppose the establishment of a Palestinian state on Israel's borders, which would point a dagger at Israel's heart. We oppose a return to the pre-1967 Arab-Israeli borders. And we reject the participation of the PLO in any peace talks or negotiation. By its charter, which calls for the destruction of Israel, and by its strategy and tactics, which call for an unremitting war of terrorism against the people of Israel, the PLO has disqualified itself from any participation in the peace process.

We support the Camp David approach as the only proven basis for achieving a comprehensive, just and durable Middle East peace. And we remain committed to a united Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the State of Israel.

We regard the central and overriding impediment to peace to be the Arab world's continuing rejection of the existence of Israel, the Arab denial of the legitimate and rightful place of Israel in the family of nations, the Arab refusal to recognize and negotiate openly and directly with the Jewish state.

Although there are differences among us with respect to settlement policies in the West Bank, we assert that Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria are not illegal or a violation of the Camp David accords. Rather, they are an expression of the right of Jews to live anywhere.

We are proud that Israel remains a vigorous island of democracy in a sea of repression. And we admire the high moral and ethical standards, the respect for human life and liberty, that the State of Israel and its defence forces have demonstrated in war and in peace.

We believe these sentiments represent the views of the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish community. There is a diversity of views within our community with respect to the details of Israeli policies; indeed, we take pride in the democracy that characterizes American Jewish life. However, that diversity has not detracted from the overwhelming support of the American Jewish community for the principles I have just enumerated, for they constitute the minimal conditions that would enable the State of Israel to live in security, dignity and peace.

These are not easy times for America or for Israel. In Lebanon, Soviet-supplied arms in the hands of terrorist forces have killed more than 250 American military men. America's efforts to strengthen the Jewish state have been met by fierce attacks by Shi'ite and Druse forces. Israeli forces in Southern Lebanon are also under attack, and casualties mount daily. Syria demands the abandonment of the May 17 Lebanon-Israeli troop withdrawal agreement while continuing its own military build-up on Lebanese soil.

Once again America and Israel find themselves embattled, together, against those who refuse to accept the legitimacy of the Jewish state — and now the legitimacy of the Lebanese state. Once again the governments of America and Israel face a common enemy.

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Series B: Thursday, February 16, 1984  
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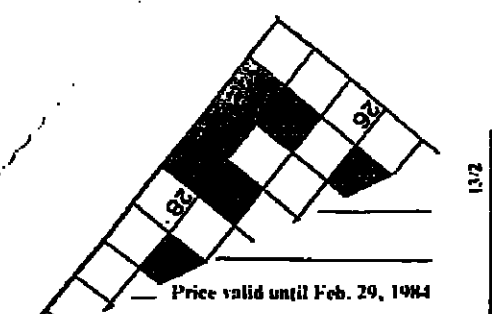
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## Is electioneering behind boom?

**TEL AVIV** — The stock market boomed again yesterday. According to financial circles, the market, in the immediate future, will continue to "zigzag" upwards, rising prices followed by profit-taking.

These circles base their thinking on the fact that there is a feeling that the country's economic condition is gradually improving; another is that there is a lot of money around looking for a quick return, but the main factor is that "the Likud has launched its pre-election campaign. Rising share prices will focus a lot of attention on the market, and divert it from more pressing problems, such as strikes, the erosion of wages, and inflation."

Only time will tell if this prediction is correct, but at any rate, anyone who entered the market a few weeks ago has nothing to complain about — so far.

Yesterday 224 stocks rose by five per cent or more and of these 53 were "buyers only." Only 17 shares fell by five per cent or more, and of these only two were "sellers only."

The commercial banks stole the show. Maritime, Danot and FIBI were "buyers only," while First International rose by 22.7 per cent (74 points), to stand at 400 points.

First International did not join the "arrangement" with the Finance Ministry, and according to talk in the "city" it will turn in a nice profit this year.

As for the "arrangement" shares, their fortunes varied greatly. Hapolim was in demand, and it rose by 2.7 per cent to meet a rather large demand, while Discount rose by one per cent to meet another large demand. But IDB, Mizrahi and Leumi remained firm, although Mizrahi's shares were made.

"It appears that a 'new ball game' is being played in regard to the 'arrangement' shares: offers to sell are being picked up by the Bank of Israel (and others), stabilizing their prices, while any demand will lead to higher prices."

The commercial banks have been

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By MACABEE DEAN

pushed into second place as the main centre of interest on the market. As a rule these commercial banks constituted more than half of all trading in shares, but at the end of last week this changed, with all other shares topping the commercial banks in turnover. Yesterday, this continued, and while the turnover in all shares was about \$6 million, commercial banks accounted only for \$2.7m, of this, with all other shares accounting for about \$3.3m. And within this \$3.3m, industrials accounted for about \$1.2m, with investment companies running second with about \$750,000.

All categories of shares advanced along a broad front, rising from about three to ten per cent (in a few isolated cases much more). The sole exception were the oil shares, which fluctuated by five per cent in either direction.

The shares which turned in the best performance were First International (whose 22.7 per cent jump has already been noted), followed by Arich, Bonded Warehouses, Tromasbest and Landeco 0.5, all of which rose by about 15 per cent. Tefahot, Clal Leasing and Leumi gained about ten per cent each.

Among investment companies, Discount Investment had the highest turnover, some \$356,000, but its price did not rise, despite a huge demand. With few exceptions all investment companies rose.

Many investors (and even speculators) prefer to put their money in such investment companies, since they believe they can spread the risk much better.

Among oil exploration shares, J.O.E.L., which was the rising star only a few weeks ago following the announcement that it had struck oil at Gurim 4, was under selling pressure, falling by 5.3 per cent.

Consolidated had an adjusted loss of \$10.4m, in the six-month period ending September 30, 1983, compared to an adjusted profit of \$5.3m, in the same period in 1982.

Octagon had an adjusted loss of \$18.7m, in the six-month period ending September 30, 1983, compared to an adjusted profit of \$18.2m, in the same period in 1982.

Tempo Industries had an adjusted loss of \$16.2m, in the six-month period ending September 30, 1983, compared to an adjusted loss of \$12.2m, in the same period in 1982.

Ezra David has bought considerable quantities of shares in Meir Ezra & Son lately. Tourist Industry Development Corp. is returning to the Accountant General \$131.6m, (pegged to the dollar at 11 per cent interest) on account of funds it received from the Finance Ministry in 1983. This company will also return \$164.6m, to the Accountant General (pegged to the index and paying 6 per cent interest) on account of funds it received from the Finance Ministry in previous years.

North American Oil Exploration has extended the period in which to turn in its options on shares from May 31, 1984 to May 31, 1985. Atlantic Fisheries reports that its revenues in the six-month period ending September 30, 1983 were \$154.9m, in 1983, compared to a loss of \$158m, in 1982.

Ebit (computers) reports sales of \$183m, in the nine-month period ending December 31, 1983, compared to \$160m, in the same period the previous year. Its profits in this nine-month period last year were \$18.3m, compared to \$13.1m, in the same period in 1982.

Alcol (contractors) had revenues of \$112.3m, in the six-month period ending September 30, 1983, compared to \$131m, in the same period in 1982. Profits rose by 169 per cent, to stand at \$13.9m, in these six months. However, if these figures are adjusted for inflation, the company shows a loss of \$12.5m, for these six months in 1983.

### Most active stocks

Hapolim	1,080	1896.6m	+80
Leumi	1,980	1858.4m	+55
Discount	5,555	1838.2m	+55
Discount Invest.	1,540	1535.6m	+55
Shares traded:	15,751.8m		
Convertible:	18,171.7m		
Bonds:	15,810.8m		

### Rockefeller says lower dollar desirable

**ISTANBUL (Reuters).** — Visiting U.S. banker David Rockefeller on Friday called for a less strong dollar and lower U.S. interest rates.

"It would be desirable from our point of view and from the point of view of the rest of the world if our interest rates were to decline and if the dollar was a little bit less strong," he told a press conference.

Rockefeller is visiting Turkey as part of a tour of Europe, the Middle East and Asia in his capacity as chairman of the international advisory committee of Chase Manhattan Bank.

He praised Turkey for recent free-market measures that included liberalization of import and foreign exchange controls.

Chase Manhattan is opening a branch in Istanbul in April, the third U.S. bank to operate in Turkey.

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### Commercial Banks

Bank	Volume	Change	% change
OHK	1455	148	-125
Maritime 0.1	210	10.2	-24
Maritime 0.5	210	10.2	-24
N. American 1	4657	72	-41
N. American 5	2980	91	-87
N. Am. up 1	1975	140	-15
Danot 1	315	10.2	-16
Danot 5	96	10.2	-4
Danot up 1	289	1456	-23
First Int'l 5	400	650	-72
FIBI	321	10.2	-15

### Commercial Banks (part of "arrangement")

Bank	Volume	Change	% change
IDB	102,300	266	-22
IDB 1	4650	266	-22
IDB 5	4650	266	-22
IDB up 1	27650	2	-17
IDB up 5	3350	98	-2
Leumi 0.1	3370	226	-20
Leumi 0.5	5660	349	-40
Leumi up 1	5555	688	-55
Leumi up 5	2750	4	-4
Leumi up 0.1	705	124	-6
Mizrahi 1	1895	921	-6
Mizrahi 5	1895	34	-6
Mizrahi up 1	1315	157	-20
Mizrahi up 5	15900	157	-20
Mizrahi up 0.1	855	93	-9
Hapolim 1	3990	1	-190
Hapolim 5	3080	316	-80
Hapolim up 1	3080	553	-110
Hapolim up 5	6140	2	-11
General 0.1	400	115	-15
General 0.5	1980	4316	-6
General up 1	2688	68	-85
General up 5	764	173	-6
Finance Trade 1	2640	9	-6
Finance Trade 5	1407	9	-6
Finance Trade up 1	2640	3	-20

### Real Estate, Building

Mizrahi cn 4	855	93	-
Hapodim p	3990	-	-100
Hapodim r	3080	3136	-80
Hapodim b	3080	553	-110
Hapodim cn 8	12140	6	n.c.
General A	8050	47	n.c.
General op 4	18600	2	-200
General op 8	7988	4	n.c.
General cn 5	6140	2	-40
General cn 7	400	118	-15
Leumi 01	1980	4316	n.c.
Leumi 9	2688	66	-84
Leumi cn 11	764	173	n.c.
Finance Trade 1	2690	-	n.c.
Finance Trade 5	1407	3	n.c.
Finance Trade 8	2500	3	-50



Ari Rath  
Editor and  
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM  
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Editor

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Adar-I 10, 5744 • Jamadi Awwal 10, 1404

## No victory by default

EARLY ELECTIONS. Labour chairman Shimon Peres told the party's Young Guard last Friday night, offer the only solution to the country's problems. A national unity government is now out of the question, and an alternative government headed by the Alignment — to be formed without benefit of elections — is no longer on the agenda.

The Alignment, of which the Labour Party is the dominant constituent, will win the next elections. Mr. Peres assured his listeners, and it has no reason to fear them.

Those were brave words, even if they derived much of their strength from reliably reported changes in the public mood. If the leaders of the Alignment no longer see any value in associating with the Likud government, it is because the government itself has now lost so much favour with the people that being the incumbent is no longer the advantage it was once thought to be.

But the Alignment's chances of winning a sweeping victory in the next elections will not depend exclusively on the public's perception of the Likud's bankruptcy as the ruling party. They will also depend on the opposition's success in showing itself convincingly as a genuine alternative.

How can this be done? Obviously, by acting as a fighting opposition. So far, however, the Alignment has not functioned persuasively as an opposition, either in domestic or in foreign affairs. The criticism of official conduct, though often noisy, has for the most part been more of a penchant for respectability than a talent for aggressiveness.

At the same time the Alignment has allowed spokesmen for minority views within its ranks, such as Shulamit Aloni and Yossi Sarid, to command more public attention than the party leaders themselves.

Internal divisions have also not helped the Alignment, and have in fact cast some serious doubt about its ability to form a viable government. The Alignment's leadership has not enjoyed throughout its years in the political wilderness a minimal security of tenure. Mr. Peres himself has been saddled with a vengeful foe in the person of the former premier, Yitzhak Rabin, whose zeal in seeking to unseat the chairman cannot be accounted for in purely rational terms.

If, however, the Alignment is now determined to push with all vigour for early elections, it must also make up its mind early on who is to lead it in the looming political struggle. The fact that Mr. Peres has acquitted himself well as chairman during the past nearly seven years, and came within an inch of winning in 1981, does not, given the way the party is composed, make him invulnerable to challenge. The fact that the polls suggest that there may be more popular standard bearers for the Alignment only makes for more unease in the party. Therefore, if elections are now the party's goal, it must first put to rest all the leadership rumblings.

Disillusionment with the present government should not be relied upon to net the Alignment victory in the next elections, regardless of what, as the opposition, it does or does not do.

## Huffing and puffing

FEW GOVERNMENT ministries are so tied to one particular economic group as is the Tourism Ministry to the hotels, which form the largest and most powerful part of the tourist industry.

It is not uncommon for the ministry to have its little differences of opinion with the hoteliers, but because the two are so dependent upon each other's good will, these rarely go beyond family squabbles. Thus, it was all the more astounding recently to find that the Hotel Association and Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir were crossing swords in public and barely speaking to each other in private.

The basis of the disagreement was a demand by Mr. Sharir that the hotels not only quote prices in European currencies, but peg these rates to the value of such currencies of some six months ago. The hoteliers were willing to do the former, but not the latter. As a result, the tourism minister "called off" a Hotel Association selling mission, the Association informed the minister that he could not cancel their marketing plans, and both sides retired to their respective corners to sulk.

It is true that Israel's hotel prices seem high, especially to Europeans, whose currency has lost ground to the U.S. dollar, in which such prices are quoted, and those hotels which have lowered prices considerably claim that they are doing very well. What seems to irk the hotel people is the feeling that they are continuously asked to make sacrifices, while other branches of the industry refuse to lower their prices by one agora.

There is the impression that rather than study the problem seriously, the tourism minister continues to act impetuously. Indeed, since Mr. Sharir assumed office, his ministry has seemed to function through grandiose statements, plans and assemblies, many of which have fallen through, rather than devoting itself to the steady hard work which might bear lasting results.

The hoteliers must take yet another hard look at their prices, but they are not the only ones at fault.

## POSTSCRIPTS

**IN WOBURN, England,** a judge awarded £10,000 damages recently to a man who was struck in the face by a golf ball while out for a Sunday stroll.

**Charlie Smilie, 39,** was knocked unconscious in May 1981 while walking with his son on a public footpath skirting Woburn Golf Club, about 50 kilometres north of London. The Dunlop Masters Tournament was under way at the time.

The ball smashed out five of Smilie's teeth and badly injured his nose, then bounced onto the course and back into play. High Court Judge David Smout said in his judgement.

The club denied negligence, claiming Smilie was watching the tournament from the footpath to avoid paying the £4.50 entrance fee. Defence lawyers argued that spectators accept risks involved with tournaments.

But Smout said Smilie was merely enjoying an afternoon walk. "It is the legitimate pleasure of a pedestrian to stop and stare," he said.



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# Return to reason

By ABBA EBAN

THE ISRAELI people is coming back to earth. The opinion polls are too unanimous to be ignored. A majority of Israelis agree that the Lebanese war has not been a successful enterprise and that there should now be a policy of speedy disengagement without ambitious gains. Most Israelis would be ready for territorial concessions in Judea, Samaria and Gaza in return for a peace settlement. There seems to be a majority in favour of a freeze or, at least, a slow-down in the establishment of new settlements in populated Arab areas in the administered territories. An election today, say all the pollsters, would confirm the primacy of the Labour party as the dominant political force in the country.

It is like an awakening from a fever-ridden dream. For several years we have been gripped by inveterate fantasies. The psychological mood which dominated the country's economic life had its counterpart in public attitudes toward regional and international politics. The theme was that everything was possible; nothing had to stand the test of rationality. If it was possible for citizens to quadruple their income in a single year without themselves having brought a single new dollar into the national economy; if an atmosphere of expanding consumption could be maintained without any corresponding growth of the national product; if the stock market could replace the farm and factory as the central arena of economic preoccupation — why should not similar visions of unreality be indulged in matters of security and diplomacy as well?

Ideas so preposterous as to lie beyond the domain of reason became canonized in public policy and were celebrated in some of the media. A million and a quarter Palestinians, universally recognized as a distinctive "people," could be permanently held in a coercive Israeli jurisdiction. The Camp David accords and Resolution 242 could be "interpreted" as authorizing a hundred per cent Israeli control of all the populations and territories between the River Jordan and the Mediterranean Sea. Peace which had been achieved with Egypt by giving up everything could be obtained with Jordan and the

Palestinians by giving up nothing. A few thousand Jewish families, endowed with the full rights of Israeli law, could be encouraged to live in the midst of hostile Arab populations which are totally subjected to unrestricted military rule — and this condition could be described as "Zionist fulfillment." A military drive deep into Beirut and beyond would be an effective way of saving Israeli lives against the depredations of the PLO. A Christian-Phalangist regime could be established with Israeli support and would be able to unite and stabilize Lebanon, procure the withdrawal of Syrian forces and conclude an effective peace treaty with Israel. A strike at Syrian missiles in the Bekaa valley would weaken Syrian influence militarily and politically and make Israel a more decisive influence than Syria in determining the future of Lebanon. The expulsion of a few thousand Palestinians from Beirut would eliminate the PLO as an effective actor in Middle Eastern politics and encourage Jordan and West Bank Arabs to negotiate with Israel on Israel's terms. The Lebanese war was presented not as a local security measure, but as a Grand Design with repercussions favourable to Western interests in the global balance.

These absurdities resounded for months on end, sometimes with such passionate intensity that they required a sort of courage to challenge them. Not one of the dreams has been fulfilled for the simple reason that they transgress the very laws of historical gravity. Every failure was predictable and, indeed, predicted. To prevent the possibility of some lives being threatened in Galilee we have the terrible certainty of over 567 lives lost in Lebanon, more loss than all the world's terrorists had been able to inflict on Israelis in all the decades of its existence. The "remedy" proved immensely more lethal than the condition that it aspired to cure. Syrian influence is more decisive, Lebanese anarchy more total, Christian-Phalangist rule more illusive, terrorism more rampant, Western power and repute more derided, Palestinian-Jordanian deadlock more obdurate than if the war had been avoided or, at least, curtailed in the first week.

Israeli leaders now dream wistful-

ly of a limited security arrangement in South Lebanon, backed by local forces and UNIFIL, which is exactly what could have been obtained if the war had been halted at the 40 kilometre line, in the second week of June — 1982.

THE FACT that the war has been fought for twenty months without a national consensus is one of the most dramatic features of its history. Consensus was impossible not because party leaders failed to obtain it, but because the ideas, the ways of thought, the temperamental attitudes, the emotional preconditions that underlay the Grand Design were inherently incapable of being accommodated within the terms of the Israeli Labour movement. The Begin-Sharon rhetoric resounded in Labour ears like an alien language clothed in an undecipherable, exotic script. Labour Zionism, for good or ill, is sceptical about ideas that soar too far from the ground. It believes in things that are concrete, real, recognizably shaped and presented in a mood of proportion. It has its visionary component, but its particular strength lies in a proven capacity to bring aims and capacities into balance. The Labour movement is not pacifist by tradition; it is, in fact, the architect of the Israeli defence system, and its somewhat blunt unsentimental rationality has fashioned the psychology and vocabulary of the IDF.

We were not offended by Arik Sharon's rhetoric; we simply found it ridiculous, with its claims of "breakthroughs," "stunning strategic changes," "alliances without parallels in Jewish history," "new eras" and its arrogant insinuation that rejection of Sharon is an advanced form of treachery. And so on the fifth day of the war the Labour Alignment called for a total ceasefire, for leaving the Syrians, Maronites and Druse alone, and, later, for the avoidance of Beirut, for opposition to the siege and bombardment of the Lebanese capital, to the entry of Phalangists into the refugee camps and to any ambition beyond the limited topographical aim of keeping Maalot and Nahariya out of katyusha range.

Behind this somewhat inhibited reaction to sweeping Grand Designs lies a sober view of what military ac-

## Dry Bones



tion can and cannot do in the modern age. We do not believe that it can achieve much beyond its crucial defensive function. It can prevent us from being wiped out, or deeply injured and that is no small thing. But it cannot produce durable changes in the map of history or generate the kind of reactions out of which new regional harmonies can be fashioned.

If a victory is only military, it comes close to not being a victory at all. The classic case history is the fight against the Syrian missiles. This was brilliantly successful, and the Syrian military performance was an abject disgrace. But within a few weeks the old missiles, for which we evidently had an answer, had been replaced by new and better missiles which caused a great deal of worry: there is now a paradoxical nostalgia for the pre-victory condition.

The aim of modern war is not to exterminate your adversary or to deny him an influence on the post-war settlement. The aim is to change his mind and attitude so that his position in the political negotiation is not too remote to make a compromise feasible. The last "classic" war in which the victor surrendered his body and soul to the victor (who then dictated the future) was enacted in the final phase of the U.S.-Japanese war in 1945.

There has never been a chance that Israel, or, for that matter, the United States would ever be in that situation in the post-war age. War in this generation is no more than a kind of coercive diplomacy, designed to pave the way for negotiation. The desire to negotiate can be created by persuasion, deterrence, threat, inducement, bargaining or, when these fail, by limited military pressure. This means that before a war begins it is essential to have a clear idea of how it should end.

In the case of the Lebanese war the sequence was more eccentric. The Israel government's decision to take the war all the way to Beirut preceded the definition of its purpose. First came the blueprint which Sharon admits to have initiated on the first day of his entry into office; then came the retroactive attempt to create a chain of justifications. In the end, a tragic assault on our ambassador in London, which had no Lebanese context whatever, became the irrelevant signal for the ensuing drama. Leav-

ing aside the moral and humanitarian considerations, the government's policy on the war was marked from the beginning by a basic incoherence.

The weakest link in the structure was the assumption that the Maronites and Phalangists under the Jemayel family could, with Israeli and American support, become the focus of power and authority in Lebanon. Why the United States came to believe this is an unresolved mystery. An illusory picture of the Lebanese reality was sketched in the May 17 agreement which conveyed the impression that Jemayel was all-powerful and that Syria was marginal and capable of being ignored. The text of the agreement was admirable; it illustrated how Israel and Lebanon could live together through the common purpose of the Israeli government and President Jemayel. But Jemayel had no capacity to put the agreement to work; and everything depended on implementation by Syria which had been excluded from the negotiation and was offered no chance to influence its provisions.

If such a fantasy had worked it would have been the first time in diplomatic history that anything of the kind had occurred. The day when the Maronites had the predominant power in Lebanon belonged to the past. Once they created Greater Lebanon by annexing large Moslem populations they lost the chance of building a Christian state with a coherent sense of nationhood and common values. A similar tragedy would afflict Lebanon if it were to prefer territorial claims to national cohesion. Without common devotion and a unified allegiance to a single flag and leader, modern state is doomed to disintegration.

Israel must now come home to the Lebanese war, not only to the strict physical sense, as soon as basic security arrangements have been made. It must celebrate with intellectual homecoming, a return from adventure to reality, from fantasy to truth, from meaningless rhetoric to honest self-appraisal. Losses are heavy but they cannot be lightened by delay. Above all, we cannot afford to submit our national destiny to a government whose leaders applauded the adventure and lurched forward in every retaliatory phase. To have a tragic experience and to refuse to learn from it is the greatest of all follies.

## READERS' LETTERS

### HELP FOR ELDERLY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — It was indeed a pleasure to read Leah Abramowitz's report on the vital part that volunteers are playing in the services to the elderly. Surely this is the true reflection of Jewish ethical teaching.

I believe that your readers will be interested to hear that our organization is successfully filling an unfortunate gap in the social welfare service. A little over three years ago, a few retired people who originated from England and are now living in Netanya decided to create an organization dedicated to volunteer services. Our first project was the provision of "meals on wheels."

Despite a certain reluctance on the part of the establishment ("It can't succeed because you are all volunteers"), we persevered and persuaded the local authority and its welfare department to cooperate with us. We arranged for the meals to be prepared, utensils to be purchased, people to package the meals, car drivers and other helpers

to deliver, and last but not least, washers-up for the returned food containers.

The first delivery in 1981 consisted of six meals; in 1983 we supplied over 22,000 to the elderly, the sick and the housebound, and the demand is increasing weekly. We are proud that the whole operation, except for the actual cooking, is carried out entirely by volunteers.

We now have two additional offshoots of this service. Once a week, 30 lonely souls are invited to our luncheon club. As a result, during the winter months local hotels have agreed to host 30 mainly old or disabled clients of ours, without any charge whatsoever, for a four-course hot dinner followed by musical entertainment.

Our organization will be happy to offer the benefit of our experience to others of like mind in other towns.

DAVID HAMBURGER,  
Netanya Meals on Wheels,  
109 Nitzza Boulevard  
Netanya.

### ADULT EDUCATION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — The Adult Education Association of Israel is compiling a directory of learning opportunities in Israel for visitors, which we are planning to publish and distribute abroad as well as in Israel.

There are many tourists and potential tourists who are interested not only in the usual sightseeing tours, but also in pursuing some formal or informal educational activity during their stay in the country. There are, in fact, quite a large number of such opportunities, but in many cases they are not widely known. We feel certain that a full listing of institutions and organizations offering quality learning experiences for adults, with a brief description of the nature of these activities, will be of great help.

If any of your readers know of educational offerings which they

think should be included in the directory, we will be very grateful if they would notify us at P.O.B. 2378, Jerusalem 91023.

YEHEZKEL COHEN,  
Secretary-General,  
Adult Education Association of Israel  
Jerusalem.

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### MODERN TEACHING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir. — The picture of elementary school pupils being taught, instead of arithmetic, how to use pocket calculators, horrified me (January 22).

After producing a generation 20 per cent of which was found by the IDF to be incapable of reading the headlines of a Hebrew newspaper, and after a survey of third-grade schoolchildren found that a considerable proportion was incapable of understanding what they read, it now seems to be the Education Ministry's ambition to create school leavers unfit even to sell vegetables in the market.

Inevitably, the next step will be to "teach" all subjects entirely by television. This will enable the Education Ministry to fire 90 per cent of the teachers, because one does not have to be literate to supervise such classes. The year 1984 has really arrived.

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HANS MEIR NATH

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